

PROLUSIONES JUVENILES

PRÆMIIS ACADEMICIS DIGNATÆ.

AUCTORE JOÄNNE TWEDDELL, A. B.

TRIN. COLL. CANT. SOC.

LONDINI:
(TYPIS E. HODSON:)

VENIUNT APUD CAROLUM DILLY, ET THOMAM PAYNE;

CANTABRIGIÆ:
APUD J. & J. MERRIL, ET W. H. LUNN.

1793.

LECTORI S.

QUOD nonnulla te, L. B. in limine hujusce libelli monitum velim, id vel pudori meo, vel periculi, in quo me intelligo versari, insolentiæ, tribuas necesse est. Me quidem ipsum parum fallit, nihil, quod sit omnibus numeris absolutum et perfectum, in lucem me proferre posse; nihil debere, nisi quod industriâ elaboratum sit. A meo igitur arbitrio si res stetisset, diu inter scriinia mea penitusque abdidissem, quicquid, cùm adolescens essem, et litteris humanioribus meam qualemcunque operam navarem, chartulis meis aliquâ cum laude illerem. Id autem ne fieret, in causâ fuit summa nonnullorum virorum auctoritas, quorum apud me et gravissimum de re litterariâ judicium, et benevolentia in me ipsum jam olim spectata, plurimùm ac meritò valuerunt, et semper valebunt. Horum itaque consiliis permotus, prelo ausus sum committere hæc opuscula; idque,

delectu omni et discrimine amoto, utrùm singula relegendi mihi plùs an minùs arriserint; utrùm Græca, an Latina, an etiam Anglica essent; utrùm numeris poëticis, an pedestri sermone, fuerint conscripta.

At verò nihil est, cur quis molestè ferat, me veluti saturam quandam lancem lectoribus meis apposuisse, siquidem facti illius mei rationem cordatioribus omnibus facilè probandam censeo. Nimirùm, quicquid viri non solùm à doctrinà egregiè instructi, verùm etiam summos dignitatis locos inter Cantabrigienses meos adepti, quicquid*, inquam, tales viri præmiis Academicis dignum putavissent, id ut ego meâ existimatione prorsùs indignum judicarem, nullo modo ferendum erat. Illud porrò mihi religioni fuit, ne, cùm hoc vulgandum statuerem, illud abjiciendum, multis qui me amicè et quidem magnificè laudâssent,

* Monendus est lector, septimam harum prolusionum, etsi in Publicis Scholis recitata esset, nullo tamen præmio Academico ornatam fuisse, neque ornari, per rei ipsius naturam, potuisse. Sed monitu cujusdam amici locum ei in hoc fasciculo opusculorum meorum concessi.

de meo ipsius acumine viderer nimis confiderenter sentire.

Eorum, quæ in hoc volumine continentur, quo quæque ordine scripta sint, quibus de causis suscepta, quo denique vel loco vel tempore recitata, breviter et, quâ potui, dilucidè exposui *. Quare hoc sive commodi, sive incommodi, liber hic meus habiturus est, ut, quò partes ejus ab incepto longiùs processerint, eò minùs indignæ, quæ legantur, ab intelligentibus et æquis harum rerum æstimatoribus judicari possint.

Neutiquam me fugit, ea omnia, quæ juvenis quispiam aut insolentiâ inscitiâque corrigendi, aut negligentia quâdam forsân non ingrâtâ, exaraverit, sub acumen styli sæpe et sæpiùs subire oportere. Quod autem ad me attinet, etsi, cùm Cantabrigiæ degerem, ab honestâ hâc contentione animi, vel liberali oblectatione, tempus meum non omninò omne abhorruit, nec voluptatis illecebris totum me irretiri passus sum, minimè tamen dissimulaverim, fuisse

* V. catalogum harum prolusionum, pag. 15.

in illo curriculo studiorum meorum, ubi inter carceres et metas interdum hæserim. Enimverò piget me pūdetque meminisse, quot ego horas, bonas illas quidem et nullâ arte revocabiles, inter nugas et ineptias malè collocaverim. Sæpe, quod potui, non volui. Sæpe, si quid paulò felicius tentatum vellem, id ut votis aut conatibus meis responderet, efficere non potui. Inde factum est, ut maculas nonnullas hîc illic nuperprehenderim, quas vel fuderit incuria, vel animus inter studium et desidiam alternis vicibus divisus et distractus parum caverit. Limæ igitur moram non defugi, quò una et altera harum prolusionum paulò emendatior prodiret. Alia quippe lente et fastidiosè probavi—Aliis, quæ mihi parum sana viderentur, medicam ad-movi manum—Nonnulla, quæ nimis am-bitiosa, ut sit, et quodammodò calamistria inusta existimarem, transverso calamo no-tavi, penitusque resecui—Pauca, prout res ferret, hîc illic addenda* statui. Atqui

VIX

* Hoc præcipuè spectat ad ultimam illam orationem meam pro æquâ libertate. Multa autem, quæ scripse-
ram

vix, aut ne vix quidem, spero fore, ut quæ in variis scribendi generibus verecundè et timidè tentavi, omni ex parte satisfaciant superbissimo aurium judicio Porsoni, Parrii, Burneii, Burgessii, Wakefieldii, Huntingfordii, aliorum.

Verùm enimverò labores, quos in corrigendo subinde exantlavi, non tanti sunt, ut lectori suspicionem injicere debeant, similitudinem, quæ exigua sit, intercedere inter ea, quæ Cantabrigiæ olim scripsi, et ea, quæ publici juris nunc facturus sum. Profectò, " facies est" iis, si minùs " una," at " nec diversa tamen;" imò talis, qualem dece-
ret esse, non sororum, sed unius et ejusdem puellæ, in quâ jam inde a teneris annis species aliqua pulcritudinis illuxisset, et quæ virgo jam adulta facta sit, atque adedò plus concinnitatis et veri etiam roboris præse ferat. Humani animi vis et motus utcumque et ad excogitandum celeres sint, et ad ornandum uberes, nemo unquam tam benè subductâ ratione ad scribendum ar-

ram, in autographo Cantabrigiam misso de industriâ omisi, ne prolusio ista videretur solito magis proluxa.

cessit,

cessit, quin ei vel ætas vel usus aliquid perfectius apportaverit. Me igitur, qui unus sim quotidianorum horum scriptorum, quid est, quod pæniteat "cædere vineta mea?"

Quod si quis sit, qui propositum illud meum hæc in lucem emittendi, tanquam ab ætate meâ, et ab ingenio, non solum mediocri, sed exiguo et tenui, alienum putet, is, pervelim, facere me sciat, quid ab aliis Academiæ meæ alumnis factitatum sit. Scilicet prolusiones suas pro re natâ primò affectas inchoatasque, et postea, ut opinor, magis accuratè cogitatèque ad umbilicum perductas, oculis legentium subicere non dedignati sunt, Gulielmus Roberts, Collegii Etonensis haud ita pridem Præpositus, Joannes Hallam, Ecclesiæ Bristolensis nunc temporis Decanus, et nuperrimè Gulielmus Cole, Collegii Regalis socius. Neque verò hîc loci obliviscendus est Thomas Clarkson, amicus ille humani generis, qui tunc cùm Cantabrigiæ viveret, præmiumque propter optimam de servorum mercaturâ orationem reportasset, laborum suorum isto in genere primitias iudicio hominum permisit. Horum ego a doctrinâ et excellenti ingenio longè
me

me abesse sentio, ita tamen, ut diligentiam eorum in limandis vulgandisque operibus suis maximè imitandam existimem. Hos cùm habeam auctores, ne in gravissimum illud novitatis crimen ipse offendam, non est, cur reformidem.

Equidem non defuturos esse scio, qui ea, quæ de rebus politicis vel ex aliorum scriptis hauserim, vel de meo deprompserim, pejorem in partem interpretari non erubescant. Atqui convitiatores isti, per me licet, nimiùm quantum se admirentur, imò parcant erroribus suis, et fautoribus ipsorum, quàm velint, ineptè aut insidiosè indulgeant. Quid, quòd divitiis malè partis inhiant? Quid, quòd honores aucupantur, et laudibus suis in cœlum tollunt artes istas inhonestas, per quas ad dignitatem et famam ipsi obrepserint? Minimè is ego sum, qui in *talis* gloriæ societatem me offeram. Illis cedo—Illorum hæc esse tota et propria confiteor. Absit verò illud, ut quam sibi et cogitandi et scribendi licentiam satis arroganter vindicent, eam aliis a se dissentientibus ne tantillùm quidem concedendam esse

esse contendant. Hanc tamen spem, etsi libero quoque et liberali homine apprimè digna sit, vereor ut in hoc seculo fovere debeam. Etenim in raram illam temporum *infelicitatem* nos Angli nuper incidimus, cum nec sentire nobis integrum sit, quæ similia vero videantur, nec loqui, quod sentiamus, sine gravissimâ offensione improborum et insulsoꝝ homunculoꝝ. Id verò ut ut se habet, mei ut juris egomet sim in veritate investigandâ, sedulo enitari. Quos in aulâ volitare viderim, et purpurâ splendescere, et per metum aut ambitionem musare, eos ego omnes cum istis phaleris suis plorare jubeo. Si ad nutus regum suorum assentatores isti aiunt, negant, seque totos fingunt et accommodant, non ideo meum est committere, ut exemplum adulatorii dedecoris ipse in me edam.

Praefationi huic meae antequam coronidem imponam, nonnulla habeo, quæ de meâ nescio quâ felicitate planè apertèque et quidem prolixiùs commemorem. Qui cum in facie Romuli sese versari intelligant, oculos tamen mentis ad commentitiam illam Platonis

tonis civitatem attollunt, ii ferè omnes experiundo nôrunt, quid causa sibi agenda ipsa ferat, quid error soleat ei affingere, quid invidia contra eam ex industriâ conflare audeat. Mecum igitur actum est præclarè, quòd arbitros illos nactus fuerim, qui, cùm toto cœlo a meâ de rebus politicis sententiâ discreparent, nullâ tamen irâ, nullo odio, nullis præjudicatis opinionibus, passi sint se transversos abripi. Enimverò, cùm ad prolusionem illam, quæ de æquâ in magno imperio libertate stabiliendâ agit, primò me accingerem, ne labor iste meus omnis effunderetur, vehementer extimui. Præmia quidem ipsa haud nescius fui ita in medio posita esse, ut latinitati et argumentis scribentium, non sententiis, quas de quæstione subobscurâ amplexi essent, deferenda viderentur. Sensi porrò, opus, quod esset periculosa aleæ plenissimum, et mihi et aliis fuisse ab ipsis arbitris consultò propositum. Huc accessit, quòd veritatem pro comperto habui nullis unquam partibus famulari, nulli magistro se addixisse, nullis vel regibus, qui superbè dominarentur, vel civibus,

civibus, qui temerè turbulenterque novis rebus studerent, fœdè et abjectè inservire. At verò in mentibus hominum tot sunt latebræ et recessus, tam proclives sunt ii, qui "metuunt cupiuntque," ad deteriora quæque arripienda, tanta in libertatis vindices jam diu inveteravit invidia, et in dies gliscit, ut qui suas aut aliorum opiniones ad veritatis normam exigat, unum et alterum aegrè reperiatis. Quocirca, vitio mihi nemo dederit, quòd inanimum induxerim, fieri vix potuisse, quin is, qui se ab Harringtono, aut Lockio, stare profiteretur, ad certamen parum æquis conditionibus comparatum descenderet. Quod igitur præmium ne in somniis quidem aptare ausus fuisset, id egout reportarem, fortunæ meæ, vel potiùs obstinatæ aliorum ad officii sui rationem tuendam sententiæ, acceptum refero. Atqui ingratus essem quàm qui maximè, nisi iudices tam singulari integritate præditos mearum, qualescunque sint, laudum præconio ornare cuperem. Equidem unum ex iis, honoris causâ, nominatum vellem. Gaudebit is quidem, etiam me tacente, egregiâ illâ moderatione animi sui

sui et æquitate. Quin tum amore Cantabrigiensium suorum, tum naturâ et moribus suis diutissimè fruetur. Sed, ne optimum hunc virum ultra placitum collaudare videar, manum, ut aiunt, de tabulâ.

Hæc sunt, quæ de me et meis opusculis, spem inter metumque dubius, præfari habui. Tibi autem, L. B. meos hosce juveniles lusus dico. Scilicet blandiri parum scio: Te autem unum agnosco patronum, qui nullas blanditias requiris. Quin alii cuipiam libellum huncce in clientelam commendare minimè collibuit, quamdiu incertus eram, an gratiâ esset omninò aliquâ dignus. Tu autem, cùm penes te ipsum sit, munusculo huic meo pretium, quod velis, imponere, succensere mihi non potes, si parvi æstimeretur. Vale.

J. T.

Dabam Londini:

Calend. Junii A. D. 1793.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME THE FIRST

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PROLUSIONUM CATALOGUS.

No. I. BATAVIA REDIVIVA:

Fig.

Uno aureorum numismatum, quorum tria
Academiæ alumnis, qui in statu pupillari es-
sent, pro tribus carminum generibus quo-
tannis deferenda legavit Gulielmus Browne,
Eques, Græcum hocce Carmen dignatum
est, et postea in Comitibus Maximis, Calend.
Julii A. D. 1788, recitatum in senatu. - 1

No. II. BATAVIA REDIVIVA:

Secundum eorundem numismatum hæc
Ode Latina præmium suum tulit, et in se-
natu recitata est, eodem, quo Carmen
Græcum, die. - 9

No. III. QUID NOVI?

Tertio numismate hæc Epigrammata dig-
nata sunt, et unà cum præcedentibus carmi-
nibus in senatu recitata. - 15

A 2

No. IV.

No. IV. LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA, ABDICATO
MAGISTRATU, IN JUS VOCETUR

Oratiunculum hancce in sacello Collegii
Trinitatis habitam, A. D. 1788, præmio li-
brorum, quod alumnis ejusdem Collegii sin-
gulis annis dari solet, amplificavit Prælector
illius anni Primarius, THOMAS JONES, vir
apprimè doctus, et a bonis omnibus nunquam
nisi perhonorificè memorandus.

17

No. V. IN JOANNEM LOCKIUM ORATIO PANE-
GYRICA:

Prolusio hæc ex præcedente nata est, cum
solenne sit, eum, qui præmium illud, cujus
novissimè memini, reportaverit, in Collegii
sui sacello nominis alicujus magni viri me-
moriæ concelebrare.

25

No. VI. THE MERITS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH
WERE GREATER THAN HIS DEMERITS:

A Prize Declamation, delivered in the
Chapel of Trinity College, A. D. 1789.

39

No. VII. ID UNUM QUOD EXPEDIT HOMINIBUS,
HOMINES OBLIGAT:

Hæc Oratio, sive, ut aiunt, Actio habita
est in Scholis Philosophicis, quinto Calendas
Junii A. D. 1789.

55

No. VIII.

No. VIII. JUVENUM CURAS:

Carmen hoc simili numismate dignatum est, ac prima harum prolusionum, et in senatu recitatum in Comitii Maximis, Non. Julii A. D. 1789.

65

No. IX. LUDENTIS SPECIEM DABIT, ET TOR-
QUEBITUR:

IN VENTRILOQUUM:

Hæc Epigrammata simili numismate dignata sunt, ac tertia harum prolusionum, et in Comitii Maximis, Non. Julii A. D. 1789, recitata in senatu.

71

No. X. UTRUM AD MAGNUM POETAM EFFIN-
GENDUM MAGIS ACCOMMODATA SIT
ÆTAS OMNIBUS ELEGANTIIS ORNA-
TISSIMA, AN ÆTAS ELEGANTiarum
RUDIS:

In Comitii Posterioribus, decimo quinto Calend. April. A. D. 1790, hæc Oratio in Scholis Publicis habita est, cum Pro-cancellarius istius anni a se impetrasset, ut duorum *classicorum* (ut aiunt) numismatum, quæ ab Academiæ Cancellario quotannis dari solent, alterum ne mihi quidem ipsi denegandum statueret.

73

No. XI. A SPEECH ON THE CHARACTER AND
MEMORY OF KING WILLIAM THE
THIRD:

This Speech was delivered in the Chapel of Trinity College, Nov. 4th, 1790, and re-

warded

warded with the prize of books annually appropriated to that Commemoration by the Will of Mr. Greaves.

Pag.

89

No. XII. QUID PURE TRANQUILLET ?

In Comitibus Maximis sexto Nonas Julii A. D. 1791, hæc Oratio in senatu, ut moris est, recitata fuit, cum primum tulisset præmiorum, quæ mediis, qui dicuntur, *Baccalaureis* ab Academiæ legatis quotannis dari solent.

151

No. XIII. UTRUM MAGNUM IMPERIUM CUM
ÆQUA OMNIUM LIBERTATE CON-
STARE POSSIT ?

Præmium simile, ac præcedens, hæc Oratio tulit, et in Comitibus Maximis, pridie Calend. Julii A. D. 1792, in senatu recitata est.

189

ERRATA,

- P. 1. l. 12. *pro καίσις lege καίσις*
 P. 4. l. 13. *pro πάλῃς lege πάλῃς*
 Ib. l. 19. *pro Ταυία lege Ταυία*
 P. 21. l. 16. *dele comma*
 P. 29. l. 22. *pro vīr lege vir*
 P. 35. l. 11. *post comitatur lege comma*
 P. 55. l. 18. *pro nuperimmè lege nuperrimè*
 P. 59. l. 2. *pro frustrà lege frustra*
 P. 66. l. 7. *pro ἰγῶν lege ἰγῶν*
 Ib. ib. *pro εἰός lege εἰός*
 P. 77. l. 16. *pro Necesaria lege Necessaria*
 P. 81. l. 21. *post et dele comma*
 Ib. in notā l. 3. *pro ἀναταγῶνς lege ἀναταγῶνς*
 P. 109. l. 4. *for chaötic read chaotic*
 P. 120. l. 4. *for Revoluion read Revolution*
 P. 183. l. 14. *pro fæminæ lege fæminæ*
 Ib. l. 22. *pro fæminæ lege fæminæ*
 P. 196. l. 1. *pro fucurrerent lege succurrerent*
 P. 197. l. 6. *pro intuito lege intuitu*
 P. 201. l. 13. *pro potentiōri lege potentiāris*
 P. 205. l. 19. *pro vetræ lege vestræ*
 P. 249. l. 8. *pro fædus lege fœdus*
 P. 243. l. 10. *pro ut lege ut ut.*

THE [illegible] OF [illegible]

CHAPTER [illegible]

[illegible text]

THE [illegible]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

No. I.

BATAVIA REDIVIVA.

ΤΙΣ ποχ' ἀγῆτωρ μελέων ἀοιδᾶν
Θέσπιν ἐμπνεύσει Φρεσί; πῶς κιχάνη
Καλλίτεκλον Ἀρμονίαν, δίκην τευ,
Ἄσιολι Σαπφοῖ;

Τῶς γὰρ, ᾧ δέσποινα, βρόττος ἔτις
Χρυσέῃ Φόρμιγῃ διώξει πλᾶκτρω,
Τᾶν βοᾶν ἰᾶς, πυκνά τερ Φρονῶν, ἀ-
δύπνοον αὔραν.

Δεῦρ' ἴθ' ὦν· γνώμα τ' ἐπὶ μουσικῆς χεῦ
Ἀνθεμόρῃυτον γάνθη, ὕγρα πάπερ
Τᾶ πόθω Φιλάματα, Κύπριδος τε
Πυρφόρθη ἱυγέ,

Καὶ Φράωνν ζέγγηθρα νεῶν, ἐν ἄμοις

Οὐ βρύη πίναξιν—Ἔα, πρόσω τί;

Οὐλίαν ὅπλων κτυπος οὐλῖος; τί

Φράν ἁλίαςος

Φρίξεν; Οἶδ' ὁρῶν σιοτίας Ἐριννυς,

Θεὸς ἀδάμχευτον δίασον λαχοῖσας,

Οἶδ' ὁρῶν Ἐριν τε, Φόνον τε, καὶ Ἄταν

Ἀνδρολέτερων.

Δῆλον οἰμωγῆς νέφεος· ὦ ΒΑΤΑΙΑ,

Κλυθι, τῦτο γάρ σε περίξ' ἔχα' ζέ-

νω σε, δύσκολις, πάθες ὡς μεγίστων

Ἄξι' ὀδυρμῶν!

Νῆς φλέγα χρέας ὑπὸ, καρδία τε

Ἀμφιπύτνα δαμά με· φαίνομαι νῦν

Σὰν παθῶν ἀλκήν, μελανοπτέρων, Γᾶ,

Μᾶτερ ὀνείρων*.

Ἄ δοκῶ τὸν παῖδ' ἐσορῆν βέοντα

Φοινίᾳ δρόσῳ, περὶ μαζὸν ὑγραῖς

᾿Ωλένησιν ὡς ἔτι βάλλετ' εὐζώ-

νοιο τιθάνας!

Φρίσσομαι βλέπων, ἵνα περ τὸ θᾶλυ

Πᾶν γένος προῖριζον ἔκυρσε μοίρας·

Τὸ ξίφος νύμφαν πόλεμῶν ἀπαρὸν,

Ἄνθει δ' ἄδας

Ἄδ' αὖς θάλλοισαν, ἀναιδὲς ὦμας
Ἡὺ χένιζ'· ὅμοι, ξίφος οὐκ ἐς ἄραν
Ἐκκεκώφωται· τὲ λέλougχεν οἶος
Νύμφιος Ἀδης!

Ὦς δ' ὁ πρᾶν τοι νύμφιος ἱαχ', εὐθύς
Ἐκ θεῶν μαστίγος ἔδισι πᾶχυν
Ἐμβαλὼν τέρνοισ' ἔπος (ᾗ, κλύω) Φύγ'
Ἐρκος ὀδόντων·

"Χαῖρε, τᾷ λαχὼν ἴσον ἂν θέλοιμι
"Ζῶν, θανῶν, χαῖρ' αὖ! Φάος ἔσθ' εσεν τίς
"Μευ, τίς ὦν; ἀρ' ἦν Φόνιος θεῶν, ὅς
"Ἦν τάδε πράξας.

"Πτώμ' ἐοῖσ' ἄωρι, παρκαγάλισμα
"Ταρτάρω! Ζῶναν ἄφαρ ἀμπλακοῖσας
"Σε βρέφος τι μάτερος ἐν ἐν ἀγκά-
"λῃσιν ἔθρωσκεν.

"Βᾶθι τὴν κατ' ἔρον! ἔγων σε κλάυσω,
"Σῶμ' ὑφ' αὖς ἀλγύδοσι, μέσφ' ἂν αὐτός
"Ἐκπέσῃ Φίλας κρηδίας, βίον δα-
"κρυτὸν ἀμέρας."

Ὦς τις ἄπ', ἀρᾶτο δ' Ἀρηί· καὶ μὲν
Ἦν τεθνακόντων ἄλις, ἦν περισσῶς
Πλασάνων τ' ὁδ' ἄξ' ἵατα γῆν ἐλόντων
Πτώμματα λεύσσαν.

Πᾶ δὲ Φράν ἐμοὶ Φοράδην ποτᾶται;
 Νῆς τί δὴ τοξέυσε μάτην; Φλυαρῶν,
 Στάθεος Φῶς, λήγ᾽—ἀποπέμπομαι δο-
 -λόπλοκον ὄψιν.

Σάν γάρ, Εἰράνα, χαρίεσσαν ὦραν
 Τέρπομαι Φιλοσεφάνης τε κώμης
 Εἰσιδῶν· κακοῖο δ' ἔρωτος εὐφρων
 Ἐκβάλες ἀρχάν.

Ἄμὸν ὡς δάλπας κέαρ! Ἀσφαλὴς γὰρ
 Ἄ πτόλις, καὶ σῶς ἔτι λαὸς, αἰάν τ'
 Εὐτρεφесаτήν δόσις αὖ τρέφε γὰς
 Ἀκριτόφυρτ.

Οἰκτρὸν ὡς, τᾶς ὠγγυίας πόληος
 Ἐν πύλαις τροπαῖον ἰδᾶν Ὀλέθρῳ!
 Οἰκτρὸν ὡς, ὅπ' ἀλλοδαπῶν τραπήναι
 Κύματι Φάτων!

Οὐ δὲ σὸν, πρεσβίσα, λαπᾶξε κάρτος
 Ἢ γυνὴ ῥπασθῆισ'—ἄρ' ἰδεσθ', ἀνατῆν
 Ταινία ξεθᾶ Χάρις ὡς ἀγάλλα
 Χρῦσεόμιτρον;

Τίς τ' ἄγαν Σ' ἄμυνε; μέγα Φράσω τι·
 Δύσβατον τοῖς ἡμιθεοῖς τό πόρσω·
 Σοὶ μόνῳ, ΒΡΟΓΝΣΟΤΧΕ, τοῖς ἀνδρῶν
 Ἐπλετο κῦδος.

Ἄλλὰ τίς δικά σε, τίς αὖ σε μίμνη,
ΓΑΛΛΙΑ; κακῶν σὺ γὰρ αἰτίη τῶν-
-δ' ἦσθ', ὅμως τ' ἄλλων ἰδρὶς ἐκπέφυκας·

Ναὶ μὰ Διὸς τάν

Ὅρκίαν Θέμιν, σύ γε κερδανῆς σὸν
Κέρδος· εἰ γὰρ σοί τι μελίσδετ' ἀδύ
Ἄπνοα Μοισᾶν· κατυράν τ' ἐρώτων
Τέρψιν ἰάνην

Οὐ μέλα· Φθονε, ζασέων, μέλα σοι·
Σοὶ μέλα μάχης, ἔριδος μέλα σοι,
Καὶ Φόνων.—Εὐδαίμονες, οἷσι πατρὶς
Ἔπλετ' ἄγευς

Τῶν κακῶν! πᾶ δ' ἐντι τὸ Φέρτατον, πᾶ;
ὦ Ἄβιον, Γᾶ μάτερ, ἔχοντι τὸν νῦν
Οἶον ἐσσι κτᾶμα ποθανόν! ἄην,
Μευ βιότοις

Ὅτι περ λελαμμένον ἐντι, πρόφρων
Τιν σύνοικος· εἰ γὰρ ἔφυ χάρις τῇ,
Τιν μόνα λάμπα χαρίτων ἔαρ, καὶ
Πάντα τέθειλεν.

Ταλόθεν δέδορκε τὸ σὸν κλέος· τιν
Ὠκυπόμπῳ ἐξετάνυσσε νηὸς
Ἐπιπλεον πόδ' ἰσί· ἐπίτροπος, νά-
σων κορυφᾶ, γᾶς,

Μήδεταί τε αἰσι Θεῶν μεριμναῖς.

Ἄι σε μήπως δεσποσία νιχάνοις*

Ἵβρις εὐδυσαν, χαλεπᾶς ἀνάγκας

Στυγνὰ λέπαδνα

Ἑμβάλοι! μᾶλλον δ' ἐπίσημον εἶθε

Σὸν βλέποιμ', Ἑλευθερία, πρόσωπον!

ὦ Φίλα δέσποινα, καλῶς ἑφίης

Σὸν μοι οἷζόν

Ἰμέρῳ κρίσασα.—Σὺ καί, ΒΑΤΑΙΑ,

Σῆς τύχης τὰ δῶρα δέχου προθυμῶς.

Ὅλβιος γὰρ μὲν Θεῶν, ὅς οἱδ' ἀμύναν

Δέλιον ἄμαρ*.

* Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὡδὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πεποιημένην, καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς αὐτῇ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν, μάλιστα ἂν ἤθελον ἢ μὴ πώποτε γράψαι, ἢ γεγραμμένης αὐτὰς ἐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἐξαλείψας λήθην ἐμποῦναι τῆς πρότερον ἐμῆς γνώμης. Εἰ δὲ μὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ γινόμενα ἀναλῦσαι λοιπὸν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπολογητέον ἐγὶ μοι ὑπὲρ τῷ ΒΡΟΤΝΕΟΥΤΧΟΝ εὐλογῆσαι λίαν, καὶ δικαίον δῆπου, εἰ ἐν τῇ παραντίκῃ διαοίᾳ εὐνοικῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἢ δυσκόλως διάκειμαι. Πρῶτον μὲν σπεῖδῃ, ὅσοι ἐπ' ἡμοῖς, πρὸς τὸ μελίτημα τῆτο κατετιθίμην, ἔδδν, ὡς ἴοικι, διωνὸν παθόν, τῷ ΒΡΟΤΝΕΟΥΤΧΟΥ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ εὖ ἀκρότος, καὶ πάντων τὰ πεπραγμένα ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ Ὀλλανδία ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐγκωμιαζόντων. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον, ἡμοῖς ἀλάστωρ ἐκείνος, καὶ ἄλλοις μαλὰ πολλοῖς τῶν ταῦτά μοι τὸ πάλαι ἐγνωκότων, ἀδικίαν καὶ ὁμότητα καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἐφελισκάνων ἐφαίνετο. Καὶ δὴ καὶ πάσαι τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτὸς ἂν ἐξελεγχόμενος ἀπειγνυκῶς, εἰ μὴ δυσμενῶς ἂν ἔχοιμι ἔγωγε πρὸς ποιητὴν τὸν τρατηγὸν τετοίον. Ἄρ' ἔδῃλός ἐστι τοῖς πανεργολάτοις Τυράννοις συλλαγνιζόμενος; ὑπερφυῖς

ὑπερφυῖς μιν ὤν. Καὶ τοι καὶ πρόγραμμα ἐν τῇ Γαλλίᾳ πρῶτη ἀνεκη-
 ρύξατο οὕτως ἄτοποι καὶ τολμηροὶ, ὥστε αἵτιον πάντες ἀγαθοὶ κρίνουσι
 μάλιγα εἶναι αὐτὸν, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων τῶν ἐν ἰκίῳ τῇ χώρᾳ παρα-
 χῶν, καὶ τῆς τῷ δυσδαίμονος βασιλείᾳ σχετλιωτάτης μοίρας, καὶ κακῶν
 Ἰλίουδος τῶν νῦν ὄντων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, καὶ διανοστάτης, ὃ γῆ καὶ
 θιοὶ, πῶς γὰρ ὤ; τῆς παρωλιθρίας ἀνδρῶν γινάσκω καὶ ταλαιπῶρων ὑπὲρ
 τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ καὶ αὐτονόμῳ εἶναι παιδικῶς μαχρασμένον. Ὡς ὤν τότεν
 ὥδι πως ἰχόντων, μεταμίλει μοι, τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον, καίπερ λάθῃ με
 πάλαι καπύργος ὄν, ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἱπαιήσαντι. Ἦπε κινδυνύουσι αἱ
 Ὀδαὶ ταύται αἱ ἱμαὶ καλεῖσθαι, "ἀγωνίσματά τινα εἰς τὸ παραχρῆμα
 ἀκρίβειν."

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a message of condolence to the people of the State of California, who have been afflicted by a severe drought and famine. The President expresses his sympathy for the suffering people and offers them the aid of the Federal Government.

2. The second part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 10, 1862. It contains information regarding the land claims of the State of California, and the progress of the survey of the public lands.

3. The third part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 10, 1862. It contains information regarding the financial condition of the United States, and the progress of the collection of the public revenue.

4. The fourth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 10, 1862. It contains information regarding the military condition of the United States, and the progress of the preparation for war.

5. The fifth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 10, 1862. It contains information regarding the naval condition of the United States, and the progress of the preparation for war.

6. The sixth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, dated January 10, 1862. It contains information regarding the progress of the survey of the public lands, and the progress of the collection of the public revenue.

7. The seventh part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Department of the Treasury, dated January 10, 1862. It contains information regarding the financial condition of the United States, and the progress of the collection of the public revenue.

8. The eighth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Department of the War, dated January 10, 1862. It contains information regarding the military condition of the United States, and the progress of the preparation for war.

9. The ninth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Department of the Navy, dated January 10, 1862. It contains information regarding the naval condition of the United States, and the progress of the preparation for war.

10. The tenth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, dated January 10, 1862. It contains information regarding the progress of the survey of the public lands, and the progress of the collection of the public revenue.

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[Faint, illegible text]

No. II.

BATAVIA REDIVIVA.

AN ille divini halitus ætheris,
 Anhela vitæ vis, abit in putrem
 Glebam, neque antiquos renata
 Sentit adhuc meminitve amores?

An feriatis Manibus Elysî
 Inter virentes est siluâs domus,
 Nec credulas gentes fefellit
 Ludibrio Mahumeda vano,

Sed quisque festis uvidus in rosis
 Producta blandæ virginis oscula
 Libat, neque humanæ querelæ
 Sollicitâ bibit aure murmur?

Sint ista nocti tradita. Sed tuæ,
 Nî te vetaret sæva necessitas,
 Bataviæ non vocis expers
 Audîeras gemitus, Wilhelme *!

* Wilhelm. I. Princeps Auriacus.

Solebat olim scilicet hic tibi
 Ridere felix angulus—En! tuam
 Plebem ingravescenti tumultu et
 Strage novâ Nemesis fatigat!

Torrentium illic ira minacium
 Fraudare ruptis objicibus preces
 Agrestium, et lætas ruenti
 Sternere aquâ segetes parabat,

Nudum immerentis dum latus imperi
 Transiret ictus. Rotterodamios
 Vidi paventes, percitumque
 Horrisono Amstelodon fragore.

Vidi, oppidorum sceptrâ gerens Haga
 Tumultuoso quâ populo fremit,
 Cædemque Terroremque latè
 Sollicitos agitare vicos.

Videsne, rerum quâ facies nova
 Surgit? Cruoris Tisiphone satur
 Jam ponit iras, et flagelli
 Immemor in Stygiis tenebris

Altè recondit vipereum caput.
 Sic rursùm, aquosi filia Nerei,
 Te, terra, septemplex beabit
 Copula conjugiumque lætum.

Sopita flamma est, quam gremio in tuo
Nutrix alebas, Gallia, dissidi.

Hâc missa tempestas ab orâ
Terruit Oceani nepotes.

Sed cur Britannorum socias manus
Ciere vis in bella? Patent viæ
Plures ad Orcum, nec Britanni
Fœmineos agimus triumphos.

Tuum decorat casside gratior
Superba mollem tænia militem.
Ah! membra ne ferro fatiges
Apta magis lepidæ choreæ.

Inter puellas ludere doctior,
Et, cuique vestis quæ magè rideat,
Suadere, ne lusu protervo
Prœlia pulverulenta mutes.

Conturbat ensis nos neque Ibericus,
Nec fastus aulæ pompaque Gallicæ,
Non Indico qui stridet arcu,
Oceanive superbientis

Minæ.—Sed iris fige modum tuis,
Sed parce victis, Musa: Jocus tibi,
Lususque rident, et lepores,
Et tacitâ requies in umbrâ.

Fruaris ergo quæ dederint tibi
 Optata Parcæ munera. Nam neque
 Per dirutas jam sævit urbes
 Sanguineis rabies in armis:

At fidus auras per liquidas Amor
 Unâque nexis Pax manibus, jugum
 Cæleste, labuntur ferentes
 Compositæ studia alma vitæ.

Quin et sodali nunc vacuus puer
 Inter Lyæi pocula Lesbîæ
 Dolosque, risusque, et loquacis
 Mille refert veneres ocelli.

Injesta sed quis frœna licentiæ
 Tenet cruentæ? Non ego, Bronsvici,
 Te laude inornatum Camenæ,
 (Si quid id est) bone dux, silebo.

Tu, cùm rapinas plangeret impotens
 Crimenque læsæ fœmina fœminæ,
 Et eriminis vindex, et idem
 Pacis eras mediusque belli.

Te laurus ergo tempora vestiet,
 Te myrtus. Omni munere te beat
 Fortuna, cui Gradivus acer,
 Et placido Venus ore risit.

(13.)

Quin cùm peribis, mollior imprimet
Cippus repôstas relliquias; neque
Tecum occidet divina virtus
Funereo tumulanda busto.

Sin pacis artes, juraque civium,
Tandem fugatis victor ab hostibus
Redux fovebis, fama cunctis
Usque recens juvenescet annis,

Quia igitur perinde molliu inprimis
Cyprianus repugnat iniquis rebus
Tamen occurrat aliis vitiis
Iamque inuoluptas huiusmodi
Simpliciter inter iniquas rebus
Tamen iniquis vitiis et iniquis
Necesse est obesse iniquis
Iamque iniquis iniquis vitiis

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Necesse est obesse iniquis
Iamque iniquis iniquis vitiis

No. III.

QUID NOVI?

ΕΙ πάλιν ὄμβροιο Φλέξες ἄραν' αἰὲς λύοιντο,
 Γῇ τ' ἀπὸ κλυζομένων πᾶς ἀπόλοιτο μυχῶν,
 Οὔτι σύγ' αὖθ' (οἶμαι) Πύρρη, κατόπισθ' αὖ ἔβαλλες,
 Δευκάλιον τ', ἀνδρῶν λαινέες γονέας*
 Καινὸν *ἴδεσθε γένος! Νῦν Χὴν ἐνὶ γράμμασι κᾶται,
 Πρὶν ἄλογος, κληῖροις *Εἰκὼ, ὅπλοισι Λαγώς.

QUID NOVI?

Puella loquitur.

SUM tibi *Bella*: Viden'? Vetera et vulgaria temno;
 Nec levis in laudes ars fuit illa meas.
 Mos olim (et memini) proprios pendere capillos;
 Sunt falsi: Quæris, quæ fit, inepte? Novum est.
 Mos olim (et sensi) propriam submittere clunem:
 Quæ potior clunis subere facta? Novum est.
 Me soror alta humilem spectabat desuper hostem;
 At lignum fulto subdere calce novum est.
 Quid deceat, quid non, sic collige. Quæ decet,
 illa est
 Res nova, quæque nova est res, mihi crede,
 decet.

* Automaton.

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No. 11.

Gen. 10.

For the year 1811, the sum of \$100,000 was appropriated for the purchase of land for the purpose of settling the Indians on the reservation.

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No. IV.

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA, ABDICATO
MAGISTRATU, IN JUS VOCETUR.

CREDIDERIM esse neminem adeò expertem misericordiæ, quem non fortunæ rerum Romanarum mærore aliquandò affecerint; neminem, qui non vices defleverit civitatis toties labefactatæ quâ civium, quâ principum, licentiâ. Quippe in utramque partem diu vehementiùs incitata, sæpenuerò ultima ab utrâque experta est. Hinc populares discordiæ, et tæda seditionis tribunitiâ manu prætenta; hinc vulnera reipublicæ inusta, et importunum tyrannorum scelus.

Nec verò quenquam inter hæc populi Romani dissidia magis eminere videmus, quàm Lucium Cornelium Syllam; quem propemodùm per totum vitæ suæ curriculum cernere licet in rapinis, sanguine, et ferro versatum; qui virtutem in superbiâ posuit, in audaciâ, in contemptu Deorum

hominumque; qui denique victam armis patriæ libertatem in dominationem vertit. Quoniam autem a primis persæpè conatibus, quod reliquum sit, licet ominari, moremur paululùm, de vitâ et moribus hujusce hominis nonnihil quæsituri.

Syllæ primus gradus honoris quæstura fuit; quæ tamen quid aliud habet in se, quàm captivum regem in manus traditum? Ex hac tamen re omninò levi facilè videas, homo quàm naturâ fuerit promptus, ut impar fortunæ insolesceret bonis suis. Nimirùm, hanc in sigillo deditionem exprimi curavit, quò deinceps arrogantiae testimonium suæ secum ubique portaret. Mox petiit præturam; ubi quod virtutibus adipisci non potuit, auro adeptus est. Missas facio res in Cappadociâ gestas, utpote quæ ab alio quopiam pari successu geri possent. Post reditum tamen expilationis direptionisque sociorum reum postulatum esse nequeo oblivisci. Verùm de mediocribus hisce et quodammodò quotidianis criminibus cum Syllâ neutiquam acturus sum. Prætermittam minora omnia et vulgaria, majora tantummodò et singularia reprehensurus. Illa autem vereor nè nimis multa sint, quàm ut oratiunculâ hâc nostrâ comprehendantur; satis horum, quod statuto orandi spatio sufficiat.

Hac-

Haftenùs Syllam vidimus alienæ ministrum potentiae, vixdum sui ipsius juris, suâ nondum cupiditate abreptum. Nunc eundem conspicimus trabeâ consulari ac fascibus ornatum. Hic autem, nè fortè ex multis præclaris rebus gestis Lucii Syllæ, rem unam, quæ sit præclarissima, transiliat oratio, exquiramus, qualem novus ille Consul primam patriæ gratiam rependerit? O hominem religiosissimè nequam! Adeòne sibi conscius fuit, quàm ipsi ab urbe immeritè honor iste delatus fuisset, ut, tanquàm pretium delicti, eandem urbem incendio purgârit? Verùm enimverò vetus ac jam pridem insita huic homini potentiae lubido cum ipsâ in dies crescente potentiâ crevit unâ et erupit. Prioribus igitur septus honoribus majora adhuc molitur, et Mithridaticæ expeditionis procurationem sibi flagitat deferri. Trajicimus igitur in Græciam istum suapte auctoritate ducem. Ibi sub primam statim rerum faciem satîs conspicuum eum supérque (credo) cernimus. Indignum facinus, honorum omnium, siqui fuerint, dehonestamentum! Nihil cunctatus prædo iste antiquissimo templo intulit sacrilegas manus, signa diripuit; quò impietatis nè Persis quidem ventum erat, qui toti Græciæ, et tantum non Diis, bellum indixerant. Indixerat Diis Sylla, et nequaquam sacer apud illum locus, nè ille quidem, quem nulla

c 2

unquam

unquam barbaries violârat. Cæterùm, frustrâ quæsiêris, quosnam alios flagitiorum luxurie superaverit is, qui in horas ipse se superaret.

Videatis autem, quàm debitâ laude congestus fuerit probus ille civis et aliquantò modestior. Scilicet unâ voce clamitant Syllæ fautores, nullam eum ex hâc expeditione gloriam sibi arrogâsse, nullos efflagitâsse honores; moris fuisse omnia ipsius facinora ad Fortunam referre. Admirabile planè hominis ingenium! Famam, quam omnes tibi invidebant, ipse Fortunæ tribuisti!

Interea in animum involabat cupido redeundi in patriam; nunquam enim defuturus erat, qui contra rempublicam duceret, modò non, qui ducerentur. Venit igitur cætu fœdissimo stipatus, et multitudine retinentium ex civili bello præmiorum spem. Devicto, qui intercessit, hoste, perventum est Romam.—“Fumo vincitur urbs, velut examen apum;” neq; armis ultrâ opus. At citò omnes invenerunt, bellum magis desiisse, quàm cæpisse pacem, neq; exitii solatium, nedùm salutis spem, esse quærendum.

Egregiam victoris modestiam in Syllâ prorsùs nolo: nè tantum degeneraverit a pristinis moribus. Nè ille sicariorum princeps ad unum modò ictum vigeat; nè ille aculeo torpeat emisso. Magnum profectò jam nunc et memorabile fecerat facinus;
gloriæ

gloriæ verò ejus cumulus adhuc amplior erat accessurus. Iste (ut Livianum illud usurpem) ‘victoriam eam crudelitate, quanta in nullo hominum fuit, inquinavit.’ Exinde facta est deformis ubique rerum facies; clamor, vulnera, sanguis, palam; non sexus, ætas, miserationem afferebat; providere poterat nemo, quod cœdis initium, quæ finis. Fuitne aliquis locuples? Fuit idem nocens. Criminis enim sui testimonium et exitii mercedem in arcâ habuit. Nihil tutum præter ignotum, nihil honorificum præter exquisitam nequitiam. Quid potuerit summa lubido cum summâ ferocitate mirabiliter conjuncta, nunc primùm hominibus insigni documento compertum est. Ausus est et ipse (quid verò est, quod non sit ausus Sylla?) amplecti nomen multo quàm ipsorum regum, libertati infestius. Quânam in re turpem se et flagitiosum præstitit? Planè in omni. Quânam in re vocaverim eum probum atque integrum? Planè in nullâ. Quid est, per Deos immortales! quid, inquam, est, quod a verecundo inimico addi possit? Piget enim dicere crudum illum helluonem bonorum omnium copiis semet ingurgitantem: piget dicere Romanam civitatem, velut Asiaticam prædam, fœdissimis ejus satellitibus datam. Quid, quòd socium adscivit sibi latronem istum et reipublicæ pestem Catilinam, quem scilicet unum repe-

rire potuit similem sui? Hos simul furantes habuit dies, simul bacchantes nox. Illud profectò fuit: Tanquam alter Nessus idoneo cuidam tradere cupiebat fatale pignus, mox in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus flagraturum. Quid proferam impurissimas libidines, et pudorem cum pudicitia perditum? Stupra tantummodò aut histrionum cœtus volvens animo, totus in balneis tepet, in cauponulis delitescit. Negotiine aliquid cum Syllâ habes? Eas igitur, domicilium est illi in fornicibus. Tune etiam cum Syllâ? Moreris tantisper, dum ex popinâ redeat. Hæc autem omnia sine nocte sociâ, sine ullo dedecoris integumento, quæ Tartaro abscondi præstitisset, "aut si quid ultra Tartarum est." Ut verbo denique complectar omnia, tam erat privatim degener, quàm in publicum exitiosus.—Inauspicatam urbem! Eòne beneficia tua evadere, dux tibi ut esset, ut fuisset Consul, is, qui se primus accinxerit in libertatem tuam!

Contemplans denique quivis vitam Lucii Corneliî Syllæ, quid tandem magni et excelsi in illo inveniet, præter crimina? Quid, inquam, inveniet, nisi prædonem et confectorem patriæ—imperatorem, contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra Deos patrios arasque et focos, assiduè bellantem—labem atque perniciem seculi sui? Quam
rempub.

republicam contempserat adolescens, ejusdem in funeribus triumphavit senex. Fuit tamen, neq; inficiàs iverim, qui miles aliquandò benè meruit. Attamen, quicquid per annos sequentes a civibus regnum ejus affectantibus, quicquid ab iis, quos Sullaturire Marcus Cicero dicit et proscripserunt, unquam peccatum est, hoc omne, si rectè ratiocinabimur, uni acceptum referemus Syllæ. Syllæ, in quo patriæ præsidium inesse decebat, inerat ejusdem (id quod non decebat) causa exitii.

Nec verò sententiæ meæ aliquantillùm repugnat, quòd ille, cùm nihil jam flagitii reliquerat, quo corruptior ageret, tum demùm "privatus altum dormire" voluerit, et abjecerit ultrò regales excubias et fortunæ suæ molem. Fuit incredibile (puto) modestiæ exemplum, in eo potissimùm, qui dictatorium illud munus per tres antea annos gesserat, tanquam insigne quoddam vindictæ, procacitatis, invidiæ. At, O beatum illum! quem, tantâ dignitate relictâ, nemo privatum erat lacessiturus! Ecquis enim Syllanas passus injurias ad Syllam vel exprobrandum vel puniendum superfuit? Scilicet egregiè misericors vitas civium unâ cum bonis ademerat.

Quæ omnia cùm ita sint, si quis dubitet, quin in jus debeat vocari Sylla, eat idem ac domina-

tionis oppressorem, libertatis vindicem, salutet, imò patrem urbium statuis subscribat.

Nos verò tibi, Corneli, partam tandem immortalitatem, qualiscunque sit, gratulamur: et hoc jam solatio sit Manibus tuis, sparsisse te ac disseminâsse nomen tuum in orbis terræ memoriam sempiternam. Quæ autem suum cuique decus rependit posteritas, Felicis nomen tibi minùs invidisset, si modò in pace sustinuisses gloriam, quam bello paraveris, aut si tunc, cùm vincere desiêris, desiisses etiam vivere,

No. V.

IN JOÄNNEM LOCKIUM ORATIO
PANEGYRICA,

CUM hunc diem antiquitùs quasi sepositum viderem ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, contemplanti mihi quod in suo genere esset perfectissimum, nomen obortum est viri præclarissimorum simul facinorum et optimarum artium famam adepti. Me tamen non fugit, quantâ ornatus a doctrinâ, quantis præditus ingenii viribus debeat esse is, qui Lockium sibi laudandum suscepit. Profectò, eandem sæpe dicenti difficultatem subjiciunt rerum, de quibus dicturus est, exilitas et magnitudo. Illinc altâ et quasi exaggeratâ oratione opus est in iis amplificandis, quæ nullum in se pondus habent, atque adeò veritatis præ se ferunt non expressam imaginem, sed fucatam quandam et inanem speciem. Hinc obrutus atque oppressus rerum abundantia et
amplitudine

amplitudine animus fatiscit, et sibi diffidit, atque, ut cum poëtâ loquar, inopem se factum ipsâ copiâ persentit. Posterius hocce vel in primis ad eum pertinet, qui Lockium velit collaudare. Illo enim in viro princeps omnium virtutum sapientia eluxit, et quidem ita eluxit, ut arte vix ullâ, nedum meâ, pro dignitate suâ prædicari possit.

Mihi tamen ipsi de eo gratulari licet, quod nec perscrutanda sunt vetustatis rudera, nec longo ordine recensendi avi proavique, nec stemmatum, in quibus magna pars hominum stupet, e tenebris eruendæ origines. Fuit enim Lockius, id quod Horatius præ se fert, nullis ortus majoribus. Quicquid habuit, id omne habuit suum & proprium. Et quidem is ego sum, qui eum non minoris sim existimaturus, eò quòd parentibus, qui nec famâ eximii neque opibus abundantes essent, natus fuerit.

———— meritum, non quæ cunabula quæro,

Et qualis, non unde fatus.

CLAUD.

Putidum, meherculè, et insulsum esset loqui de nutricum fabulis; neque est, cur me vel tantillum moveant ea, quæ semestres infantuli, quos æquus Jupiter præ cæteris amavit, ipsis in crepundijs

pundiis facere præter solitum et loqui vulgò creduntur. Festinat igitur oratio mea ad eas artes, quibus ætas juvenilis informatur ad humanitatem.

Mè verò Academia hæc mater mea, cujus in gremio me foveri lætor, animi parùm grati nè idcirco arguat, quòd, cùm ipsa etiam filios habuerit præclaros multos & sapientes, “ non nostri” tamen ego “ generis juvenem,” sed sororiis potius imbutum artibus, ad laudandum selegirim. Satius erit recordari, clarorum virorum facta non ita angustis coërceri finibus, quin eorum omnium illud proprium esse, ut non urbis alicujus, vel regionis, sed totius orbis terrarum cives habeantur. Sin autem alicui loco carum & sanctum esse debet Lockii nomen, est ea laus vel in primis nostra: si quibus de eo præcipuè gloriari licet, est ea nostra gloria. Ecquis enim alius in senaculo nostro plus auctoritatis habet? Ecquis in scholis nostris sæpius est in ore juvenum eruditorum? Profectò, solent hìc loci Lockium laudare, qui, ut ipsi laudentur, sunt dignissimi.

Hoc verò ut ut se habet, Lockium Oxonii nunc cernimus in CEdibus Christi alumnum. Cæpit autem protinùs explicare sese & expandere ingenium illud, cujus opè celeritèr anteivit omnibus,

nibus, qui in eodem famæ curriculo unquam versati fuerant. Minimè enim fefellit eum, quæ & quantæ sibi in Academiâ partes essent apud æquales agendæ. Tot porrò curis & vigiliis cùm animus inter studia angeretur, insedebat in eo virtus illa, quæ noctes & dies gloriæ stimulis eum concitabant. Enimverò hominum, quos natura finxit vel ad poësin vel ad philosophiam excolendam magnos atque excelsos, quodammodò proprium est jam inde ab adolescentiâ, multum in posterum providere; ita tamen, ut intra penetralia mentis suæ propemodùm latentes, nunquam aucupentur vulgi plausus, neque bullatas nugas pro solidâ doctrinâ venditent. Contra ea, præcocium et quotidianorum horum ingeniorum est, celeritèr se effundere, & inanibus aristis ante messem flavescere*. Lockii autem animo suberat vera vis, penitùsque immissis radicibus innisa est.

Notum est eum ad artem medicam, neutiq̃uam quæstûs causâ, primò animum adjunxisse; quâ in arte eoûsque tandem profecit, ut qui tunc temporis medicorum facilè princeps † erat, Lockio placuisse summæ laudi sibi duxerit. Hîc autem animadvertamus licebit honestam eam ac priscæ integritatis mentem, cui curæ fuerint in primis

* V. Quintil. L. 1. Cap. 3.

† Sydenham.

salus vitæque hominum sine mercede ullâ, nisi quatenus ipsa sibi virtus sit merces sua. Cæterum, non uno in nomine ad artes Apollineas incubuit, quinimò multum diuque meditando effecit, ut qui ad corpora hominum sananda instructissimus accessisset, idem etiam medicinam, quæ cupiditates & errores sanaret, mentibus eorum adhibere posset. Profectò, splendidius ei quiddam & utilius videbatur, ingenio suo condere *ἰατρικὸν ψυχῆς*, quàm operam collocare in locis visendis, ubi valetudo ægra curaretur. Itaque adeò intra Aca-
demix spatia ex profundissimis sapientix fontibus ea cogitandi hausit principia, quæ cùm religioni tum etiam patriæ suæ tantum erant utilitatis ac præsidii mox allatura.

Hæc de causâ cùm in suâ quisque arte celeberrimus, tum cæteri, qui aliquid de ingeniis poterant judicare, cognitione eum et hospitio dignum existimârunt. Mox etiam Regiæ Societati adscriptus est. Quin Ashleio cùm antea fuerit notus, jam intimus eidem consiliorum esse cæpit, ita ut vîr ille tam sapientiâ quàm nobilitate insignis vix alium sibi in rebus gravissimis adiutorem & socium habuerit. Sed ex hoc fonte ut honor plurimus derivatus fluxerat, sic ex eodem & nonnihil infortunii. Cùm enim una & eadem utrique fuisset ratio propositi, unus diu idemque
vitæ

vitæ tenor, altero jam cadente, stare alter nec potuit nec quidem voluit. Piget igitur referre artes istas inhonestas, et scelerata aulicorum virorum studia, quibus effectum est, ut vir, si quis alius, innocens et patriæ amans ad exilium, tanquam ad perfugium quoddam, se reciperet.

Tuam, meherculè, Oxonium! doleo vicem, cui proditi a te Lockii crimen subeundum sit. Alia multa cum præclarè et pro dignitate tuâ feceris, nunquam tamen non flebunt et erubescunt tuæ Camenæ, quoties hanc in nomine tuo insedissee maculam meminerint. O miseram gentem, nec magis fortunâ quàm culpâ calamitosam, quæ posset tyrannum istum execrabilem jam tum perferre, cum facinus illud atrocissimum mandaret! O cæcum et meticulosum Academicorum gregem, qui mandatum illud teterrimum exequi non dubitârunt! Enimverò tecum, Batavia, meliùs actum est, cum tibi Lockium a patriâ ingrâtâ profugum in sinu tuo amplexari et fovere contigerit.

Sed prava jam et in suspensiones propensior morum licentia, unâ cum insanâ illâ, quæ mox secuta est, vi superstitionis, quicquid probitatis uspiam terrarum delitesceret, odio habuit et reformidavit. Lockium igitur Hagæ commorantem prehendi Jacobus voluit, cujus ut impias manus is effugeret, Deo visum est. Sed deferbuit tan-

dem

dem paulatim irarum æstus, quique ereptum aliena jura iërant, suis ipsorum exturbati sunt. Patriâ igitur de summis rebus periclitante, rediit Lockius in illâ nave, quæ Gulielmum vexata et oppressâ libertatis vindicem vehebat.

Hujus autem rei mentio facit, ut in transcurso dicamus aliquid de illo tempore, quod centum annorum circuitu has terras in gravissimam malorum ærumnam detrusas fausto interventu erexit, patrum nostrorum colla eripuit ex superstitionis simul et servitutis jugo. Quod quidem sicut memoriæ literisque nunquam satis mandari potest, sic nunc temporis a me nullo modo præmittendum arbitror, quippe quod video illum qui oratiunculæ huic meæ materiem præbet, præcipuum quâ ad suscipiendam quâ ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum exitisse.

Lockii autem reditum fieri nequit, ut vos, Academici, obliviscamini, quibus nuper hoc ipso in loco celebrare contigerit diem illum duplici nomine lætum, qui et optimo principi ortum dederit, et his terris optimum principem? Hoc nimirum tempus illud erat, in quo nobis licuit avertere oculos a contemplando vitia regnantium, eosque attollere ad eximia illa libertatis comoda, quæ, esti dies aliquantum ea minuerit, nunquam tamen, nisi nobismet ipsis fœdè consentientibus,

tientibus, penitus eripi possunt. Tempus hoc erat, in quo concussa, et fracta, et jam jam ruitura civitas confugit in sinum Gulielmi, qui sanè ad id potissimum natus videbatur, ut quicquid in cogitando liberum ac generosum esset, in agendo excelsum, majoribus nostris in memoriam revocaret. Felix illud, quod hoc inceptum excogitaverit, ingenium; felix lingua illa, quæ persuaserit; felix etiam, quæ perfecit manus. Laboris a Gulielmo et Lockio suscepti initiumne prius an finem mirer? Rem sanè laudandam vos invicem præstitistis! Huic tu tua, Locki, consilia, tuos tu illi, Gulielme, honores impertiisti. Neque tamen commodo magis nostro consulistis, quam vestræ ipsorum gloriæ. Quanto nunc gaudio uterque fruimini, cum tanto frui meruistis! Ut virtuti vestræ præmia sua in cœlis, sic sua in terris veneratioq manet et manebit.

Quin veniam mihi dabit, Academici, si libertatis acri amore percitus trans finem jaculum expediêrim. Dabitur, inquam, venia mihi et hîc et aliàs paulò liberiùs evaganti, siquidem de viro dicendum fuit, cujus in vitâ, ut fieri solet inter homines literatos, haud ita magna est rerum varietas. Ad unum Lockium redeo.

Adfuit jam aliquandò tempus, quo ille ex omnium consensu gloriæ famæque fructus uber-
rimos

rimos percepturus esset. Nunc enim primùm edere dignatus est celebre illud ac propè divinum opus de humano intellectu, quod ut auctori immortalitatem attulit, sic honorem patriæ, et humano generi maximam utilitatem. Nimirùm absque hoc lumine litterarum esset, quicquid posterì cognovimus, in tenebris propemodùm omne jacuisset. Quid mirum igitur, si omnes ii, quibus vel ex suis erroribus vel ex præjudicatis aliorum opinionibus aliquid commodi redundasset, scripta illa modis indignis adorti sint? Nobis satìs est, quòd veritas tandem aliquandò errorem devicerit, deque fictâ et falsâ scientiâ triumphos egerit solida et sincera.

Primùm in eo Lockius elaboravit, ut metaphysicorum spinosas et exiles ineptias refutaret; quod cùm effecisset, ad ethicorum argutias refellendas se totum contulit. Ultimam verò manum operibus suis tum demùm se impositurum credidit, cùm solidis gravibusque argumentis infirmasset ac diluisset, hinc convicia veteratorum istorum, qui in religionem impetum fecissent, illinc deliramenta hominum malè feriatarum, qui eandem pravè defendendo prodidissent. Verùm enimverò plerosque istiusmodi a Lockio perfectos labores, si quis est vestrùm qui non legerit, ei egomet auctor fuerim, ut legat relegatque, ne diutiùs nesciat puræ sin-

ceræque Christianæ fidei unum eum plus profuisse, quàm alii omnes antea nocuissent. Non enim sibi solùm, sed et hominibus vixit Lockius; vel, si brevius sit dicendum, sibi; quoniam sibi cùm viveret, tum maximè vivebat hominibus.

Quid dicam super tractatibus illis de imperio civili? Non est, mediusfidiùs, cur dissimulem ea, quæ sentiam. Quicquid alii de iis existiment, ego quidem, si libertatem amem, uti ex animo me amare fateor, si oderim tyrannidem, ut impensissimè odi, id omne me Joänni Lockio debere grato animo recordor. Ille scilicet me primus docuit, nihil aliud velle nomen regis, quàm superiorem ministrum populi, non, ut vulgus damno credunt suo, sacrosanctam aliquam personam majestate mysticâ septam, sed a populo gubernatorem institutum et stipendio dignatum, quò leges a populo latas exequeretur, quas tamen si vel violare, vel etiam non exequi auderet, suo statim imperio populique obsequio finem esse. Quantum et fortunis et vitis civium parceretur, si hunc in modum omnes sentirent, vel, quod perindè foret, si fædorum commodorum spe minùs corrupti, quærerent sibi aliquid otii ad res gravissimas indagandas! Hoc si fieret, ad studium universæ felicitatis nos conferremus, neque ampliùs meris nominibus caperemur, nec potentiorum vitia veneraremur

neraremur pro virtutibus. Quod ad me attinet, Lockium semper diligam et etiam amabo, eò quòd, licèt inter magnates ac proceres diu, multumque versaretur, ingenium tamen suum nunquam, ut plerique, venale proposuerit, sed fidus populo, fidus opinionibus suis, sibi fidus permanserit.

Compertum habemus, sub ultimum vitæ spatium in rus secessisse Lockium, idque eo consilio, ut procul a molestis et tumultuosis negotiis abesse posset. Tandem quippe eum monuit senectus, et qui senectutem persæpè comitatur morbus, imminere ei jam horam, quâ mortem naturæ debitam esset obiturus. Quantâ autem in Deum pietate, quantâ animi constantiâ, quàm stabili vitæ melioris expectatione animam efflavit! Nimirum, qui omnibus satis notus esset, is ut moreretur ignotus sibi, non est credibile. Hinc vitæ finis, gravis ille quidem plerisque nostrum et peracerbis, Lockio fuit quietis et tranquillitatis plenissimus.

Ecquis tandem vestrum erit, Academici, qui a me, cùm hæc exaudiêrit, Lockius qualis fuerit, percontari velit? Satis, nî fallor, ego in oratione meâ exposui, satis supèrque, vel me tacente, virtutes illius ipsæ per se loquuntur. Intelligitis profectò, hominem fuisse ingeniosum, acutum, acrem. Gravitationem in eo videtis, non
D 2
illam

illam tristem, et horridulam, et incomptam, sed candore animi et morum urbanitate suavissimè conditam. Quod verò omnium est longè longèque maximum, in Lockio agnoscitis bonum civem, bonum virum, fraudis et tyrannidis inimicum, veræ denique et puræ religionis cultorem eundem et defensorem.

“ Felices ter et ampliùs ” eos dixerim, quibus sit divinitùs concessum, tali modo vel vivere, vel mori. Profectò ita vivunt, ut exiguum hancce vitam ab illâ perpetuâ, quæ in cælis futura sit, propè abesse putemus. Ita moriuntur, ut non erepta iis a Deo vita, sed donata mors esse videatur.

Mihi autem de hâc re dicenti suus est aliquis dolori, atque etiam indignationi, locus. Etenim quâ in sede viri hujusce eximii ossa sunt condita, in eâ lapidem, quem quidem ipse prædixerat ‘ brevi periturum, ’ de basi suâ videas delapsum, et fædissimè effractum, et virgultis ac vepribus tantum non obrutum. Certò equidem scio, Lockium in animis nostris vivere, victurum esse. At piorum fuisset hominum et benevolorum, reverentiam quandam adhibuisse vel ipsis cineribus eorum efgò ignium, quos quondam foverint; dedisse aliquid mortuo, qui vivus tantum dederit. Profectò, ita nos ipsa natura comparavit, ut sta-

tuas

tuas summorum virorum et imagines, velut quædam non solum corporum verum etiam animorum simulacra, studiosè quæramus, atque attento et sancto animo contempler. Sed “ ut vultus hominum,” ut Tacitus ait, “ ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis æterna, quam” quidem si quis “ tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiem et artem,” sed suis vel studiis vel “ moribus” tentaverit, næ is ampliora, et Manibus Lockii ipsius longè gratiora, præmia persolverit, quàm fieri solet per imagines, “ quæ marmore aut ære finguntur.”

tas animarum virtutum et astringens, veluti quae
dam non solum corporum verum etiam animorum
disciplina, studiosae quaestiones atque silentio et
sacro animo consistunt. Sed et in vultu
hominum, cui Tacitus ait, "ita simplicitas vultus
imbecilla ac mortalis aude, letitia mentis rectae,
digni, quidem si quis, "triste et expulsi non
per alienam naturam et alicui, sed suis vel
studii vel "moribus tractaverit, nec is amplius
et Manibus Lockii ipse longae gratioris praemia
persolverit, quam huiusmodi peritissimos, "quae
maioris aut sic ingratum."

No. VI.

**THE MERITS OF HENRY VII. WERE
GREATER THAN HIS DEMERITS.**

THE page of universal history is, perhaps, unable to display to the eye of the most curious observer a change in itself more sudden, in its consequences more momentous, than that which resulted from the accession of Henry VII. to the English throne. To form a true estimate of this event, and its real importance, it is not sufficient that we simply take into consideration those weighty blessings, which ensued from the administration of this king, but that we also review those obstacles, which he had to encounter previously to their attainment, and thus contrast the subsequent good with the preceding evil. Human actions ought rarely to be estimated in the abstract. They are yoked with accident, and involved with circumstance. Their absolute merit is variable, de-

pending on times and seasons, on relations and contingencies, on the order of nature and the caprice of chance. A vicissitude in the reigning families, which, from the politic pliancy of each new possessor, might sometimes have been productive of conciliatory measures and, at least, of momentary indulgence to the people, had in England served only to debilitate the national strength, and, by the most varied cruelties of ingenious despotism, to accumulate injuries and calamities. A pestilent fever had for ages been seated in the veins and humours of the nation, had raged without pause or interval, varying, indeed, in its intensity, but constant in its operation. But we are now about to behold the state recovering from its late disorders, general law substituted in the place of individual will, and a turbulent system of plunder and freebooting exchanged for the arts of civilization and of peace. We are to view the channel of commerce, long choaked and stagnant, now cleared from obstruction, and open to the returning inlets of affluence, and, in fine, new health infused into the sickly frame of a distempered constitution. But a fame, which, like Henry's, rests on the solid foundation of true desert, disdains the feeble aid of prepossession. We may venture, therefore, to look for his virtues,

tues, not in the words of an encomiast, but in the acts of his government.

To comment on each even of the more signal facts in this reign, would exceed both the intent and the limits of the present discussion. It will be more adviseable to confine our attention to general circumstances, and to obviate general objections.

Of the several pretensions which this monarch had to the crown of England, he chose in preference that which devolved to him, as heir to the House of Lancaster. His adversaries on the other hand urge, that it became him to have engrafted his claim on that title which he obtained mediately by Elizabeth, who, as representative of the Yorkists, was the undoubted proprietor. For in those days the people were persuaded to believe, that the crown was property inherent in particular families, rather than, as they have since found, a voluntary boon from themselves on conditions of service.

Now, had Henry rested his claim on the right of his wife, (I speak the language of ancient times) his immediate power would have been little more than nominal, and with regard to future possibility, either her death without issue, or, in case of issue, his son's maturity, would equally have deprived

deprived him of the sceptre. * But without inquiring into the superior title arrogated by the respective claimants, or even after allowing the invalidity of Henry's pretensions, this objection would be of little avail. The propriety of his conduct cannot surely be denied in maintaining a distinct right of his own, if that claim more effectually tended to secure the peace and quiet of his new dominions, and to add stability to an unsettled government. Advanced as he was to the helm in a tempestuous season, his dubious prerogative yet struggling against the tide of party, it had been little matter of surprize, if the hardy adventurer had seen his bark founder amidst the waves of popular commotion. But such was the dexterous policy of this prince, such the happy presages of his early reign, that he gradually seemed to conciliate the affections of his new subjects, and this distracted kingdom began once more to wear the aspect of peace. The conqueror and the warrior now appeared less, the king and the legislator more.

In every scrutiny of this nature, truth is alike incompatible with the extreme of panegyric and of calumny. The attack and the defence should breathe one spirit of impartiality and candour. Now, it may fairly be questioned, whether this
rule

rule be adhered to, when we discover the enemies of this king, where they cannot vilify his measures, arraigning the motives which gave rise to them. Whence then, I ask, that regular and unbroken chain of glory and prosperity? Whence flowed those rays of unexampled splendour, which illuminate his reign? On what foundation, or by what magic, was erected that comprehensive fabric of legislation, so united and coherent, which a less degree of perspicacity might unwarily have attributed to intention? Did chance so admirably concur with passion, did accident so impregnate the pernicious with the salutary, the iniquity of the design with the blessings of the consequence? If an uniform system of good did not operate in the projection of his schemes, by what fatality was it invariably promoted in the completion? It were, surely, more candid to be guided in the inference by the nature of the effect, than to presume a cause with which that effect has neither remote nor immediate connexion.

Is he accused of avarice? He is accused without grounds. It should be recollected, that profusion, whatever rank it may occupy among the vices of private life, is doubly reprehensible in a king. Whence does he derive the money which he squanders? From the people; who give it him
to

to provide for the necessities of that office, to which they have promoted him. If he represents those necessities as they really are, he cannot be liberal; if he would make them appear to exceed the just computation, he cannot be honest. It may, therefore, become those, who take occasion to extol the liberality of kings, to consider well the nature of their commendation; and whether they are not seeking to substitute a private virtue in the place of a public wrong*. Can that man be esteemed liberal, who lavishes the property of others, or who enriches the idle and the worthless at the expence of industry and merit? Be it observed, the royal coffers were at that time the fund of the nation at large, and the wealth of the people proportionate to the finances of the sovereign. Henry saw how severely the inconveniences of poverty were felt by the neighbouring princes, and was determined to provide against conting-

* Though this observation may be perfectly just, as applied to Henry VII., it cannot be extended to any sovereign who by parliamentary authority receives a fixed income, and who no longer is permitted to hold, what is called, the purse of the nation.—In the present day it would be as impossible to detach the idea of meanness from the parsimony, as of folly from the profusion, of an English prince.

cies. That this was his chief aim, is apparent, from his having ever considered the public money as an inviolable deposit, and from his not having squandered it in the empty parade of regal magnificence, though he was never parsimonious in its expenditure, when it was required by the interests of his country. Yet after all, perhaps, it ought to be admitted, that "of nature he somewhat coveted to accumulate treasure, and was a little poor in admiring riches *."

It has been said, that he cherished a surly and ungenerous disposition. But this aspersion will be instantly wiped away by referring to one single act of most unequivocal and unrivalled magnanimity. After Perkin, that prostitute agent of a woman's malice, had for so long a period been the only disturber of his repose, yet, when he was at last defeated, Henry pardoned him three several times, and manifested the most tender concern in his provision for Lady Catharine Gordon, wife of this mischievous delinquent.

Much has been told us of his cruelty on other occasions, and unwarranted exertions of rigour. But, when we consider the peculiar predicament in which he was placed, we shall be inclined to question the validity of the objection. On his

* Bacon's History of Henry VII.

accession he had passed an act of indemnity to such of his enemies, as would then accept of his proffered clemency. Many accordingly submitted, were graciously received, and some even invested with employ. When, therefore, sedition and conspiracy, disguised under the prostituted names of liberty and zeal, were all the returns he met with for his numberless indulgencies, what wonder that the mediating voice of mercy should be lost amidst the cries of vengeance? It was indubitably no less just than politic to rid the nation of these missionaries of faction, to blunt the edge of treason, and to extinguish the latent sparks of future combustion. Yet be it ever remembered, that, notwithstanding the frequency of tumults and commotions in this reign, three only of the nobles suffered death. Nor will the most pertinacious encomiast of later kings venture to compare the severities exercised after the rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter, with the more outrageous cruelties, which followed the battles of Culloden and Dumblaine.

It may not be unworthy of remark, that a measure suggested by the soundest prudence, has been ingeniously distorted by the arts of misrepresentation, so as to furnish a charge of political oversight. Why, they say, did not Henry prevent the

the annexation of Brittany to France? The experience of his predecessors in their unstable acquisitions of continental territory, had instructed him not to entice his subjects to dissipate their substance on ideal wealth and visionary grandeur, where success or failure in the pursuit was alike detrimental; the former productive of splendid poverty, the latter of unrequited bloodshed. The glare of conquest cannot dazzle the discriminating eye of reason. Henry's sagacity might in this instance have dictated an instructive lesson to succeeding princes, and have taught them, that the ambition for extensive domain ought then to be circumscribed, when it trespasses on the confines of domestic tranquillity. Besides, had this accession to the court of Versailles been very material, it is highly improbable, that he, who had himself established the balance of power, should have been a patient spectator of the overthrow of his own system.

But, since it is not in mortals to be perfect, and as our defects are then necessarily most conspicuous, when viewed upon the eminence of power, let us inquire, wherein this monarch seems to have deviated from the line of reason or of duty. His prejudice against the House of York is, perhaps, not entirely excusable—And yet, it is difficult

difficult for a king to divest himself of his feelings as a man; it is difficult for him to pay an implicit deference to the instigations of policy in a public station, who in a private capacity has witnessed the sanguinary revenges exercised by the most persevering and inveterate rancour on his nearest connexions, and not only to dismiss every sentiment of animosity, but to look even with an eye of favour on the projectors of his early sorrows.

It must be confessed, that the names of Empson and Dudley cannot here be mentioned, without being accompanied by some reflections not very favorable to the character of this monarch. We are naturally led to suspect, that several of the extortions which were practised by those rapacious servants of the crown, could never have taken place, had they not been in some degree countenanced by the king himself. If this be really the case, it shall not be my part to shelter oppression from merited obloquy. I would only wish to observe, in proof of frequent ignorance on Henry's part of his officers' iniquity and abuse of trust, that, on the representations of various complainants, he made restitution to such as had been aggrieved. Farther also, even where he appears to have been really guilty of unprovoked and undeserved

deserved severity, I would make this important distinction between the despotic acts of Henry and those of almost all other kings, that, whereas they have invariably appropriated the fruits of their exaction to purposes of ambition or of personal gratification, he alone was content to treasure them for the benefit of that very people from whom they were extorted. To use the luminous language of Lord Bacon, "he was a good husband, and but a steward in effect for the public; and what came from the people, was but as moisture drawn from the earth, which gathered into a cloud, and fell back upon the earth again."

Having examined those points of his character, which have been subject to partial objection, we may now be permitted to contemplate those particulars, which meet with universal admiration. Since the days of Edward I. there never existed so able a legislator. In the enactment of all his laws, an earnest solicitude for the welfare of his kingdom happily conspired with the ability to promote it. But this truth is more powerfully aided by experience than assertion, and it were needless to illustrate the utility of measures of which we become daily more sensible.

How much he consulted the happiness and tranquillity of his people, those first objects of
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every

every wise administration, will be readily evinced to us by the earliest, and one of the latest, transactions of his reign. Its outset was signalized by the union of the two roses ; its close laid the foundation of the union between the two sister kingdoms. Yet, though his conduct was invariably influenced by the love of peace, we never surprise him lulled in supine repose ; though he did not eminently possess that unsparing and remorseless spirit of heroism, which delights in the devastation of the human species, yet we do not observe him disgracefully patient of insult, but occasionally blending the laurel with the olive in his wreath of glory.

I cannot be induced hastily to pass over this grand consideration. Among all the mysteries and anomalies in the moral world, which at different times have led presumptuous man to question the benevolence, and distrust the dispensations of providence, there is none which so totally baffles conjecture, as the system of carnage and of war. That nation should confederate against nation, to sooth and gratify the distemper of a solitary madman ; that the happiness of empires should be dependent, as it has been, upon the smiles and frowns of a capricious harlot, or the sordid treachery of an ambitious minister ; that the great
mass

mass of mankind, the reputed pride of the universe, the nominal lords of creation, should themselves be as toys and play-things, to be broken and destroyed by the mischievous hands of an idiot or an infant; that all this should happen day after day, and year after year; that it should happen, too, unheeded and unresented by the sufferers, appears to the view of a superficial observer, as the act of some over-ruling necessity unpropitious to the interests of man. Yet, let not man impiously inveigh against the order of the universe, but rather search for the cause of this evil in his own persevering indifference to the means of good: rather let him consider the calamities of war, as a just punishment for his voluntary acquiescence in it, as a merited return for his own share of a conspiracy against his own happiness.

But, let those who reprobate the character of Henry VII., fix their eyes on this bright point of it. Henry was a pacific king. Whatever may be his defects, as defects he certainly had, herein may they behold an adequate atonement for them all. While the little governors of this little globe are busied in sacrificing to the paltry motives of private pique, or the airy projects of personal ambition, the treasure, and the blood, and the happiness of those infatuated millions that obey

1 2

them,

them; we have here an instance of an understanding, that rose superior to the groveling ideas of vulgar monarchs, and of a virtue, that scorned to wield a nation's folly to its own destruction. The groans and the pangs of dying victims had no charms for him, who was more intent on those arts which improve and embellish life, than on those which extend the horrors, and multiply the means, of death.

In this reign, therefore, an insensible change was wrought in the temper and manners of the nation. We now for the first time began to be considered as an agricultural and commercial people, and were content to bury our barbarous lust of foreign conquest in the grave of the departed Normans and Plantagenets.

But, however the efforts of malignity may be bent upon calumniating the government of this prince, still there will remain a consideration, which, as it will command the suffrage of every dispassionate reasoner on the operations of internal polity, so it will endear his memory to every zealous well-wisher of his country's freedom. That invaluable birthright bequeathed us by our ancestors, from Henry received a fuller and more perfect confirmation than from the unsolicited and gratuitous justice of any other king. Greatly as the
the

the third branch of our triple estate is still fettered by other influence than the creative voice of the people, yet to him we owe that portion of freedom which it now possesses. Before his time the Commons acted alternately as delegates of the Peers and tools of the Court, not, as now, neglectful of the people's rights, but unequal to the task of asserting them. There appeared, indeed, the form of our embryo constitution, but it was a form inanimate and devoid of energy. The unweildy and uncouth mass of aristocracy crushed the subordinate frame, and contributed still more to its natural weakness. But Henry, by granting to the nobles the power of alienation, imperceptibly repressed that ruinous exuberance of the higher orders, and exalted in proportion the influence of the commonalty. Thus did the arm of majesty break the shackles of aristocratic usurpation, and remove an ignominious yoke from the neck of an enslaved people: and thus, by a rare concurrence of wisdom and integrity in the monarch, was an avenue opened to that independence, of which, if the people do not now jealously preserve it, they are most unworthy.

In spite, to speak without prejudice of this prince, his merits seem to have been his own, his defects those of his situation, and of the times.

For that some venial specks may chequer his administration, has been acknowledged; but they are such, as will not disfigure the transcendent beauty of the general system. The evils of his government were temporary, and confined to his own age; the benefits have been permanent; they are entailed upon remotest posterity; they are interwoven with the texture of British freedom, and can only perish with that constitution, which they have at once contributed to strengthen, to improve, and to adorn.

No. VII.

**ID UNUM QUOD EXPEDIT HOMINIBUS,
HOMINES OBLIGAT.**

QUÆSTIONI, quam in me suscepi tractandam, tam pervulgatæ tantique momenti, vix sperandum est, ut vel novitatis aliquid vel ornamenti ulla jam disquisitio afferat. Illud tamen usui fuerit, si ex variis variorum hominum sententiis ostenderim eos non tam opinione inter se quàm verbis discrepasse, et quodammodò eandem metam diverso itinere attigisse.

Quid sit in agendo virtus, tum cùm sigillatim agitur, satis inter philosophos convenit. Quale sit illud, quod virtutem generatim constituat, unde nomen suum atque indolem acceperit, id verò ambigitur. Celebriorum hominum ac scriptorum de hâc re opiniones contulit, illustravit, atque ad eandem normam Paleius nuperimmè revocavit. Hanc utique summam rei conclusionem

esse compertum habemus: Obligari quemque, ut id faciat omittatve, quo in faciendo seu omittendo felicitate potiatur.

Moralis itaque, ut mihi videtur, obligationis quadruplex forma et ratio est pro variis, quibus ad aliquid vel agendum vel fugiendum cogimur, modis. Prima dicitur pendere ex rerum naturâ, quæ factis quibusdam ex certis legibus præmia aut pœnas ipsa decrevit. Hanc autem nuncupare velim naturalem. Secundam cernimus, quæ in hominum judiciis ponitur, atque adeò ad facta, prout amorem merentur aut odium, videtur attinere. Hæc est, quæ apud vulgus nomen obligationis tanquam proprium ac suo quodam jure obtinet. Tertia est ea, quæ nascitur ex auctoritate magistratûs civilis. Neque aliter ego eam quàm civilem nominaverim. Quarta verò oritur ex auctoritate Dei; estque propria Religionis.

Quatuor autem hisce obligandi modis diligenter perpensis atque inter se collatis faciliè patet, plenam perfectamque obligationem, quæ cæteras complectatur, contineri tantummodò auctoritate Dei, utpote qui unus omnibus et locis et temporibus felicitatis ac miseriæ humanæ arbiter sit. Quoniam autem a Deo ad virtutem vocamur, quoniam porro, nî dicto ejus audientes simus, pœnâ ille nos afficere potest et infelices reddere, quoniam
niam

niam denique ab infelicitate in primis abhorrent homines, idcirco oportet virtutem colamus. Hinc sive ad principia virtutis, sive ad exitus, spectaveris, Dei ad voluntatem necesse est respiciamus. Hinc etiam colligimus, suæ quemque felicitatis spe impelli, Deique voluntatem, quasi ducem et magistratam, nos edocere, quâ potissimum ratione felices esse possimus.

De voluntate igitur illâ inquirendum est, quæ quidem cujusmodi sit, res est minimè obscura. Tot et tanta benevolentiae vestigia nobis undique ob oculos versantur, ut Deo homines esse cariores quàm sibi liquidò pateat. Age verò, reputemus voluptates illas, quæ in nostros sensus perpetuò influunt. Reputemus illa, quibus in dies atque horas singulas utimur et fruimur. Videbimus profectò hunc orbem terrarum nihil aliud esse, quàm multiplicem quandam machinam ad felicitatem humanam egregiè compositam cumulatèque instructam. Liquet enim Deum, quo tempore orbem hunc nostrum creaverit, eâ tum potentiâ fuisse, ut posset, tum benevolentia, ut vellet, incolas ejus orbis effingere felicitatis capaces. Quem in infantia, ut ita dicam, suâ creatorem terra agnovit, eundem est etiam provectiori jam ætate conservatorem experta. Quod si vis illa, quæ partes hujusce mundi compegit et coagmentavit, vel punctum temporis subduceretur, corruerent protinus omnia

omnia, et in antiquum illud Chaös confunderentur.

Sed ut omittamus apertiora, quæ ubique sca-
tent, signa numinis omnipotentis, contemplemur
illa magis subtilia et magis exquisita benevolentiae
divinae lineamenta, quæ reperiri possunt in animo
humano. Quanti est illa, quæ ex bonâ valetu-
dine oritur, tranquilla ac lenis voluptas? At dixe-
rit quispiam, causam hujusce voluptatis hinc pe-
tendam esse, quòd " sano in corpore mens sit
sana." Illud verò ipsum, quæ causa dicitur,
suam sibi causam quam habet? Profectò Deum.

At malum Dei operibus inest. Haud negave-
rim. Inest autem, vel quia aliter fieri non po-
tuit, vel quia bono inservit, vel (si ita vis) pars
quædam est divini consilii, non ipsum consilium.
Dei id consilium fuisse, ut hominibus beneficeret,
quicquid ubique est, testatur. Quocircà, cum
nôrimus Deum scire penitùs cuncta, et eundem
benè velle erga nos, quid tandem obstare debet,
quò minùs voluntati ejus in omni re pareamus,
siquidem voluntas illa ipsa, quæ sit, ex eo colli-
gitur, quod nobis ad felicitatem præmonstrat
viam?

Divina autem voluntas, ut ad priora redeam,
præcipit virtutem, quia virtus divinae benevolen-
tiae, quantum hominibus fas est, perfectio et con-

consummatio est. Ita homines obligati tantummodò, ut felicitatem quærant, frustà quærerent, nisi obedirent divinæ voluntati; voluntati divinæ obedire non possent, nisi colerent virtutem. Virtus igitur non alio modo obligat homines, quàm quo iis expedit. Scilicet quod honestum, idem et utile, eandemque esse utriusque honestatis atque utilitatis regulam compertum est.

At valere jubemus aureola illa quorundam insomnia, quibus nescio quid garrientibus effutire placuit de innatâ quâdam virtutis pulcritudine; quoniam, uti diximus, virtutem tanquam gradum unicè conspicimus, cujus ope ad majus aliquid scandi potest, et modum potius quo res aliâ assequenda sit, quàm ipsam rem. Nam quid tandem est virtus? Nonne ea omnia facta, quæ in singulis gentibus maximè laudabilia habentur? Quid igitur? Anne Mingrelianorum virtus amabile quidam in se continet, qui liberos suos vivos sepeliunt? An Caribbæorum illa magis cordi est, qui quidem vivos liberos suos minimè sepeliunt; id enim turpe esset; sed castrant, sed saginant, sed devorant? Hæc enim non abhorrent a virtute Caribbæorum. O innatæ Caribbæorum virtutis illecebræ, et exquisita pulcritudo! Quis tam hebes, tam insulsus reperiri potest, quin vitam degere velit

velit inter Caribbæos, quibus sanè virtus sua ejusmodi lenociniis blanditur?

Denique, si homo quivis probus sit, honestus, integer, si nihil temerè faciat, nihil avarè, nihil injustè, nihil incontinentè, hoc omne, si rectè ratiocinabimur, uni acceptum referemus felicitatis cupidini. Profectò cupido illa in pectoribus nostris semper dominatur, et aliam quamque affectionem secum de victoriâ concertantem respuit, aspernatur. Talis, credo, est indoles humani animi. Parvas quovis tempore, brevesque eas, porrò nonnihil ex ipso tempore pendentes, vices patitur. Qui affectus moverunt antea, jam jam movent, moturi adhuc, dum infelicitati inerunt sordes suæ ac terrores, illecebræ suæ felicitati.

De utilitate eâ, quæ ad singulos spectat, hactenus sanè egimus, de eâ, quæ pertinet ad universos, dehinc aliquantulum acturi. Sed quoniam tractatus quidam heri in manus venit, a viro* editus, olim apud nos nonnullius nominis, quo in tractatu quæstionem hanc nostram attingit, liceat mihi pauca atque ex re nata proferre, et Paleium nostrum pro virili defendere. Ea autem quæ objecit, ad duos ferè locos referri possunt. Contendit etenim fieri non posse, ut aut utantur hâc

* Gisborne.

regulâ homines in universum, aut non in vitii
cujusvis patrociniū perversè abutantur.

Quod ad ipsam regulam attinet, non videtur
Criticus noster satis intellexisse illud, quod Paleius
sui systematis caput et principium esse sollicitè ac
disertis verbis confirmat: nimirum, ut facta, quæ
hominibus prosint et obsint, jubeantur et vetentur
omnibus, ut obliget singulos, quicquid univer-
sorum intersit. Æquus harum rerum æstimator
quicumque est, statim videt, in rerum naturâ
positum esse, ut prosit virtus, obsit vitium.
Potest quidem accidere, ut illa obsit, hoc prosit,
sed paucis, non pluribus, sed hominibus, non
humano generi. Intelligi hæc, nè fortè animus levi
quovis momento huc illuc incertus impellatur, et
probari debent: quo quidem facto, tanquam prin-
cipia quædam et ἀξιώματα adhibenda sunt, ad quæ
suam unusquisque vitam exigat. Sed ut de factis
quibusque deliberans totam actionum utilitatem
iterum et sæpius de novo disquirat, (id quod
Critico nostro visum est) nec fert rei ipsius ratio,
neque humani animi angustia patiuntur. Taceo
de S. S., quarum tamen auctoritatem Paleius
neutiquam negligendam esse ideò censet, quia
ratio et religio “ alterius altera poscunt opem, et
amicè conjurant,” quia sese invicem ornant et
illustrant, et ab eodem auctore profectæ idem vo-
lunt, atque ad eosdem loquuntur.

Quæ

Quæ autem de hujus systematis abusu objecit Criticus, eadem profectò omnibus humanis objici possunt; neque illud huic aut regulæ, aut auctori, sed rerum naturæ vitio vertendum est. Quomodo autem sæpè possit accidere, ut Paleii opinio perperam intelligatur, vel pravis animi affectibus famuletur, equidem non video. Etenim leges utilitatis, hoc est, virtutis ac vitii limites, consensus hominum et longus usus sanxerunt. Caveat is, ne et aliis et sibi noceat, quicumque ab istis legibus discesserit. Crimen, non error est, ubicumque aliquis de sui officii ratione temerè et inconsultò et indictâ causâ statuit, ubicumque affectibus malis nomina benevolentiae et virtutis prætendit. Erit, tamen, confitemur, erit in rebus humanis aliquandò hic error. Erit, ubi tyrannus, aut fanaticus, per cædem et sanguinem Deo se placere, et hominibus benefacturum esse, reverà sibi persuadebit. Quid autem? Annon aliis integrum erit eadem regulâ uti? Annon id quod expediat, quærere ac facere? Si illis malum intendere, his repellere, utile atque e re humani generis videbitur. Sua utrisque officii ratio constabit. De summi opificis sapientiâ, de felicitate hominum, de nostræ regulæ laude, abundè erit consultum.

Verùm

Verùm utcumque de Gisbornii judicio statuamus, candorem tamen ejus non possumus non mirari. Indulsit aliis, Criticorum omnium æquissimus, eandem in se licentiam, quam sibi in alios prolixè indulget. Propositiones quasdam suæ philosophiæ moralis fundamina edidit, et hominum judicio permisit. Utrum istæ rectè necne se habeant, non est hujus loci quærere. Hoc tantummodò notandum arbitror, eadem ipsa, quæ ille Paleii opinionibus objecit, suis ipsius objici multo etiam magis posse, ut quarum et ratio subtilior, et abusus verisimilior sit. Constant etenim ex principiis, quæ, si vera sunt, certè admodum in alto latent, quæque a consuetudine et usu communi quàm maximè abhorrent. Permittunt hominibus jura, quæ quisque in propriâ causâ judex per fas et nefas quæreret ac vindicaret.

Sed de hâc re satis—Hæc erant, quæ dicenda habui, ut ostenderem nihil esse, quod Criticus iste Paleio, aut regulæ a Paleio positæ, meritò exprobraverit.

Erit forsân nostrum hoc systema odio iis, quotquot e Scotorum scholis philosophi evaserunt. Isti nimirum ægrè ferent nugarum molem, magnificam illam et multo studio comparatam, sibi extorqueri. Ut ut hoc fit, nos Paleio nostro grates habeamus

habeamus et agamus, qui operosum isthoc doctrinæ artificium deiecit, qui de subtilibus utiliter, subtiliter de utilibus disseruit, et philosophiam moralem ex dialecticorum argutiis in lucem communem ac celebritatem vindicavit.

Ex præmissis igitur concludo, id unum quod expediêrit hominibus, homines obligare.

No. VIII.

Juvenum curas.

HOR.

ΧΑΙΡΕ μοι, χαῖρ' αὖθι, νεᾶνις ὦρῃ,
 Πορφυρῆν ἤβης γάνϑ', ὥς θέλοιμ' ἄν
 Σᾶς δρέπεν αἰὲν κορυφὰς, τόδ' εἴ τῃ
 Μόρσιμον εἴη!

Ἰζάνει γὰρ πλασίον Ἀδονά τευ,
 Καὶ Σθένϑ' τοι μακρὰ βιβάν, καὶ οὕτως
 Ὀππάτεσσι τερπνὰ λαλῶν, Πόθϑ' τε
 Θυμὸν ἱανθᾶς.

Χῶ Γέλως φιλεῖ Σ', ὃ χέρεσσι πλευρὰ
 Σχῶν μόγις διπλῆσι, σαφές τ' ἀνοῖξας
 Ἦς Φρανὸς κλεῖθρον Φιλία, Σέ τ' Ἐλπίς,
 Φαντασίας παῖς.

Σὺν τρέφει παρηΐδα, δεῖς ἐλαφρόν
 Τῆναρ, Τυγίας κάσις, ἐννυχεύων
 Τῶν ἐν λάχνα· Χαρίτων βρύει τιν
 Ἀσπετῶ ἴλη.

Ὡς δὲ Σα μιμητικὸν ὄν, σφε κοσμή
 Εἶαρ, ἀκροθίνιά δ' (ὡς ποτόσδα
 Κύπριδ' 1) χέα παραφάρσιθε κόλπων
 Ἐκ ῥοδοέντων.

Πῶς σὰ Φίλτρα μυρία, μυρίοισιν
 Ἰμέρω βέλεσσι δαμείς, φράσαιμ' ἄν;
 Οὐκ ἐγὼν οἶός τε τί γάρ; πέφευγε
 Φάμμ' 2 ἀριθμον.

Ἄλλα μὲν ἄλλοισιν ἄρσκειν· ὅς γ', ἐν
 Ἰππικοῖς ἤθεσσι πολὺς ξυνοικῶν,
 Εὖ γέγηθεν εἰρεσίᾳ τεθριππο-
 -βάμονι πάλων·

Οὐδὲ τῶς μοναμπυκὸν ἴδρις ἄλλ' 3
 Τὰν δέραν ψήχαν, ποτε δ' αὐθ' ἐς ἄγραν
 Βῆν' ἴμεν, τῆς τ' Ἀρτέμιδ' 4 σὺν ὅπλοισι
 Ἐμπετύκασθαι.

Ὅς δὲ, νήπιός τις ἄγαν! τέθαπεν
 Ἐν κύβων μορφαῖσι, δεδημέν' 5 τε
 Σχέτλιον τύχη κέαρ, εἰ βιάσι-
 -μον βίοντον ζῆ·

Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ζάλῃ θολεράᾳ σαλεύων,
 Κἀγρίαν νοσῶν νόσον, ἐκ ἔδρεψε
 Τίμιον Σιγῆς λέχ' 6, εὐδίαν τε
 Μαλιτόεσσαν,

Εὐφρόνης τὰν ἀμπεχόναν ζόφοιο
 Εἰμένης — Τί, Πιερί, τὸν λέγοις ἀν-
 Πόρσιον; τοιᾶδε μέμαλεν ἄλλοις
 Τάνδρος ἀδικοῖς*.

Ἔντιν, ᾧ Φίλον τι βαθεῖα τέρψις
 Ἀμπέλα, ζέργα τε παναμερεύων
 Εὐίαν χάριν, κυλίκων ὧ ἀμίλλας
 Οἰνοπλανήτης·

Ἔντι δ', ὃ τρέφων ἀπαλώτερόν τι
 Ἠθέων ἐν ζήθεσιν, ᾧ δρομαῖαι
 Εὐκτέρω δῖναι ποδός, ᾧ λύρας με-
 -λίνοιο ὁμφῇ

Μαλθακὰν ὥπασσε χαρὰν! — Τίς ἔχνητο
 Θηλύπην, γραφέν ποτ' ἐκείσε κακείσ',
 Ὡς ἴδ', ὃ μέμνηεν ἰδὼν, ὅτ' ἐν γὰ
 Τὰν βάσιν ἀβράν,

Μαδιάσας ἱμερόεν, κροτεῖται
 Χρυσέα νύμφη; τότε δ' ἐπτόασε
 Τῷ νεανίῳ τάχ' ἐρωτύλον κῆρ·
 Χεῖρα πιάζει

* Fuit hoc argumentum Latinæ Odes, anno 1789.
 — "neque enim oculis comitantibus itur
 Ad casum tabulæ, posita sed luditur arcâ."

Χείρ· σαγηνεύσα Φράνας Ἀφροδίτη
Θέλλεν ἀβῶσας· κραδίαν Φίλον τι,
Καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ Φίλον, ἀδύμαιοι εἰ-
-ζευξεν ἀνάγκαις·

Μίκκυλ· γὰρ μίκκυλον ἔτι τραῦμα
Ἐκ χερῶν ἴησιν ὁ τοξότης παῖς·
Σφόδρει τε σθένει νεκρὸν τὸ θᾶλυ·
Ἄ, ῥόδ' ἐπιπνοῖ-

σ'! αἰ, μάρυγμα χεῖλε· αἰ δέ τ', ὅσων
Εὐσκόπων Φαιδρὸν σέλας! Εὐλαβεῖ τὸ,
Ὡ νέ·, Σαρᾶν ὀλέταραν· ἔνδον
Γὰρ πότμ· ἀνθεῖ.

Ἔσκεται δ' ἐρῶντι νέω σφὸς αἶν·
Τοῖος ἦν, δε ρυθμὸν ἐπλεξεν ᾠδῆς
Πρᾶτ·, ἥς κόρης βλέφαρον πτυχαῖς ὕμ-
-νων σεφανῶσας·

Δὶς μάκαρ· μάκαρ, Φίλ· ὦν γε Μοῖσα,
Καὶ μάκαρ, θάφ Φίλ· ὦν Ἔρωτι·
Εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' Ἔρωτα Φιλασέμεν, τὸν
Μοῖσα Φίλασεν,

Ταλίνα τρεῖς νεότης τὰ κομψά
Καρδίας ποικίλμαθ'· ὅμως σιιάζα
Ὅψιν αἰ βίοιο μελάμπετλ· νύξ·
Ἐς θαλάμους γὰς

Τάμερον πόρθμευς νεκύων καλεῖ σε,
Ποτλὸν εἶδεν Φάρμακον, εἶδεν ἄεα
Φίλτρον ἐμπέφυκε. Σὺ τ' ἴσθ', ὅς ἀκμῆς
Κύδει γαίης,

Θνατὸς ὢν — Μὴ δ' ἴσθι· τεὰν τί μοῖραν
Ἄν σκοποῖς; Μεῖον σκοπέοντι κέρδι·
ῶς λέλογχεν ἀνῶν, τίς εὐφρων
Ἄν φρονέαν λῆ;

There is a great deal of
the same kind of work
done in the same way
in the same way.

There is a great deal of
the same kind of work
done in the same way
in the same way.

There is a great deal of
the same kind of work
done in the same way
in the same way.

There is a great deal of
the same kind of work
done in the same way
in the same way.

There is a great deal of
the same kind of work
done in the same way
in the same way.

There is a great deal of
the same kind of work
done in the same way
in the same way.

There is a great deal of
the same kind of work
done in the same way
in the same way.

No. IX.

Ludentis speciem dabit, et torquebitur.

Hoc.

ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ἐν Πίσσᾳ τις εἰὼν ποτ' ἐτύγχανε, πάλῳς

ὦς νέῳ ἰσχυρῆς καίζεν ἀγῶνα πάλης·

"Εὐθα τε κ' αἶνθ', ἐνόησεν, ὅπως ἐπὶ δίζυγι καρπῷ

Συμπλέκον ἀμφοτέρως ἀμφότεροι καλάμας.

Καὶ πλευρὰς ἐνόησεν ὅπως, ζόμα τε, ῥινὰς τε,

Δεν' ἀσθμαινόντων σκληρὸν ἔτυπτε πέδον·

"Ἢ δ' ἄρα," θάύζεν, " τοίς ἢ καίζετ' ἀγῶνας;

" Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τοίην ἢ μαχόμεσθα μάχην."

In Ventriloquum.

SALVE! magna Tui, Britanniaëque,

Salve! gloria temporum tuorum!

Qualis nemo fuit, neque est, eritve

Posthac — O utinam repenti voces

Sint centum mihi, sint et ora centum, ut

Te, Tui similis, poeta laudem!

Audin' ? Nunc hominemve, fœminamve,
 Juxtâ, nunc procul et remotiores,
 Hàc illàc, puerumve ineptientem,
 Credas multa loqui, simul disertâ
 Ac vox parturiât sonos in alvo.
 Atqui nil tremit os loquentis. Atqui
 Nil motum est labium. Quid ergo ? Fallor,
 An verum est ? Loqueris, tacesve ? Certè
 Et nusquam tua vox et est ubique.

No. X.

Utrum ad magnum poetam effingendum magis accommodata sit ætas omnibus elegantis ornatissima, an ætas elegantiarum rudis?

NON deesse quosdam probè scio, qui cùm in seculum, quod sit omnigenis litterarum elegantis ornatum, ipsi inciderint, ingeniis tamen iis gratulandum arbitrentur, quotquot vetustatis situm inter et squalorem illuxissent. At mihi quidem isti videntur paritèr ratiocinari, atque is, qui, etsi solem, dum sudum est, contueri sibi liceat, malit eum spectare aut tinctum ferrugine, aut nebulis aliquatenùs obscuratum. Humanum ingenium, vel maximis auctum suppetiis, ægrè tamen tardèque protrudi solet; diuque in animo delitescens et altè defixum, tanquam semina in solo sata, sensim et paulatim enutritur. Mox ubi vires suas paululùm explicuerit, colore, ut ita dicam, temporum imbuatur, et rerum, quæ sunt extrinsecus,

secus, varias quodammodò in formas flexibile et sequax sese induit.

Quid igitur, clamat adversarius iste noster, si mens humana ad ætatis suæ indolem tantum in modum conformari solet, nonne ætas ea maximum poëtam proferet, quæ ad excolendam poësin maximè apta fuerit? Confugitur scilicet ad Homerum; de quo priùs quàm loquamur, e re fuerit pauca quædam præfari, qualis esse debeat is, quem magnum poëtam nominaverim.

Si quis materiem suam per omnem partium convenientiam accuratè semper disponit, si acutè idem pressèque ratiocinatur, si pulcrè et castigatè eloquitur, si concinnius explet numeros, et versus dulcissimè modulatos conficit, si omnes dictionis flosculos undecunque collectos carpit et delibat, si denique nihil ineptè molitur, hunc certè dixerim poëtam esse, magnum esse poëtam—non dixerim. Verùm enimverò mihi ille detur poëta, qui iudicium mirè commiscuit cum urbanitate, in cuius feliciori luxurie gliscit ubique et incandescit vivida animi vis; ille, qui sive præproperè fertur et fervidè et concitatiùs, seu molliùs incedens sine salebris profluit lenitè et canorè, hinc usque in dulcissimam sensuum abalienationem legentium animos illecebrosè mulcet irretitque, illinc secum derepentè rapiens intima præcordia ciet, turbatq;

et

et concutit; ille, qui nusquam in modum torris
hâc illâc subsultim scintillat, sed ardet potius cir-
cumquaque flagrans instar cometæ: Ille denique
detur mihi, qui sublimia insecutus, præcipitia
devitat; qui amans simplicia, id quod tenue et
inane est, aversatur, qui grandia, id quod turgi-
dum; qui habenas tenens animorum nostrorum,
nunc laxat eas, nunc adducit, et in quas veli
partes secum nos volentes trahit.

Hic utique, si quis alius, magnus poëta est.
Quin horum omnium fateor Homerum fuisse
facile principem. Esto, quod in ætate barbarâ
floruit. Si talis in barbarâ fuit, qualis idem
fuisset in excultâ? Si lapidem molarem exquisitiâ
cælaverit, quid tandem fecisset e marmore?

Quæcumq; res paucis vel uni debetur, et quâ-
cum cæteris hominibus nulla intercedit cognatio,
casui rectiùs, quàm causæ alicui certæ, plerumq;
adscripseris. Cur Homerus Deo intus agitante id
temporis incaluerit, extrinsecus nihil adjutus, tan-
tùm “scit genius, natale comes qui temperat as-
trum.” Profectò, quod *tunc* vixit, fortunæ fuit,
quod *talis*, naturæ: siquidem ex doctrinâ ac litteris
suum quoddam ingenio subsidium est, origo non
item.

Equidem id esse ingenii puto, ut natum tem-
poribus quantumcunque iniquis suâ tamen vi pro-
rumpat,

rumpat, morarum prorsus impatiens, et rerum, quæ se cingunt, externarum turbam atque colluvionem, veluti pontem Araxes, indignatum. Ingenii magni poëta quicumque est, non ille soli proprius, non temporum. Si inter fœdam barbariei noctem nascitur, nascitur quasi proles temporis præcox et præmatura. Nihil debet ævo suo, nihil cum eodem commune habet. Ipse ætatem suam augere et amplificare potest, non ipsum ætas. Suo denique mundo fruitur, sui cœli est.

Shakspearum, magnum illum dramaticæ nostræ poeseos patrem, illas naturæ delicias, ab adverso nobis stare prædicatum est. Prætermittam id, quòd Shakspearus minimè vixit in ætate elegantiarum rudi. At verò, si intra hos dies viguisset, nihilne eum commodi existimas ex ducentorum annorum intervallo haustum fuisse? An, cum omnia animo obversarentur, quæ ingenium elicerent, elicitem promoverent, inficetius aliquid in hoc seculo quàm in suo effudisset? Dicat is, qui opera ejus leçitaverit. Lusus isti verborum, dicteria apprimè puerilia, sordidissimi sales, facetiæ contortulæ, imò omnia quotquot vitia scriptis ejus insunt, eadem et ætati inerant. Quotquot in eo venustates conspiciamus, quicquid feliciter est ausus, quæcumq; insignia, recentia, et alio ore indicta protulit, ea demùm omnia vocaverim sua.

Atqui,

Atqui, id quod de Homero etiam diximus, ingenia hujuscemodi ad normam aliquam exigere foret planè nefas. Suum illis penes se arbitrium est. Sui sibi omninò omnibus in rebus sunt juris.

Cæterum in universum potius quàm speciatim interfuerit quærere, quid tandem sit id, in quo rudis ætas antecellat eleganti. Cùm tanta librorum copia non ad manum sit, informari ad doctrinam minùs *possis*: cum litteras non nisi unus et alter excolat, minùs *velis*. Neque illud quidem omittendum est, barbaras gentes, quamvis inertia gaudeant, quietem tamen respuere; eaque de causâ, qui inter eas vixerit, carere illâ vitâ tranquillâ et umbratili, quæ artium ferè omnium aut inventrix, aut saltem perfectrix, esse solet. Necesaria ad vivendum anquirentes, vel defendentes acquisita, id unum agunt; ita ut nullus dari possit contemplationi locus. Iisdem etiam, quod utilissimum inter mortales reperitur, deficit exemplar. Tardam maturitatem anticipare et antevertere ingenio datur. At citra ingenium positis, quales sumus plerique, priùs exercenda est memoria, quàm vivus ille animi ac vegetior impetus, et varietas versicolor, et rationis subtilitas, penitùs evocari possit. Inde factum est, ut bonus operum artifex perrarò extiterit, qui, quod sibi ad imitandum proponeret, non habuerit.

Objiciatur

Objiciatur fortassis, quòd ætas elegantis ornata luxuriantis animi vires circumcidat atque amputet, eique spatium, in quo se effundat, perexiguum præbeat. Fuerit quidem, quod ita objicitur, gravissimum, modò sit verum. Nam si constet hujus ætatis esse, ut ingenii igniculos restinguat, poëtamque eò deducat, ut in carmine condendorum et sententiarum exilitatem strepitu verborum inani, et ineptis styli calamistris, compenset, mihi sanè in ipsâ Scytharum et Celto-Scytharum barbarie perfugium petam. Sed longè alitèr se res habet. Ætas, quâ de agitur, luxuriem non circumcidit, nisi nimiam. Ingenii illos igniculos non reprimit restinguitque, sed in temperiem quandam mitiorem emollit atque edomat. Quicquid enim est immodicæ illius exuberationis, quicquid curiosè potiùs quàm sincerè et sanè conscriptum, quicquid tumidius et jactantius, id tali in ætate adeò non laudari solet, ut sibilis et conviciis excipiat. Sed detur aliquem poëtam extitisse, qui, cùm negligens et abnormis fuerit, æstimatori tamen harum rerum intelligenti valdè placuerit. Eumne credibile est idcirco placuisse, quòd negligens fuerit, an propter nativas illas veneres sermonis, quas nè ipsa quidem negligentia obumbraverit?

Illud jam videamus, quid scire oporteat magnum poëtam, et utrùm ætas elegantiarum rudis ei id suppe-

suppeditare possit? Exploratum necesse est et probè perspectum habeat, quicquid in rerum naturâ vel formosum sit, vel terribile, quicquid magnitudine et immanitate suâ venerationem cum horrore quodam conjunctum animis hominum incutiat, quicquid suo splendore eosdem percellat, quicquid partibus suis, minutulis illis quidem, sed aptè inter se & concinnè compositis, alliciat eos ac deleniat*. Hæc autem concesserim esse omnium temporum, omnium locorum. Plura tamen sunt, ne dixerim majora, quæ poëta, oportet, in animi sui penetralibus recondita habeat; omnes scilicet rerum cælestium ac terrenarum formas naturales, vicissitudinesque earum, et admistiones, et causas. Quin in ipsos terræ recessus aliquandò descenderit, et metallorum genera omnia oculis mentis suæ intentissimis perlustraverit. Animi affectus quam habeant vim, quantum aut felicitatis aut miseriarum secum afferant, quo sint modo vel coercendi vel excitandi, penitus intelligat. Multiplices porrò vitæ humanæ consuetudines, et mores cùm civitatis suæ proprios, tùm hominum singulorum, persentiat. Alieni etiam soli incolæ quo mundi latere jaceant, quid agant, quid meditentur, aut visendo necesse est experiatur, aut legendo cognoscat. Quin nulla est lingua, nulla

* V. Johnsoni *Rasselas*.

ars, nulla disciplina, quarum etsi fontes ipsos minùs adiêrit, rivulos tamen consecrari non ausus sit. Tantam rerum sylvam cum comparaverit, stylo ei opus est, qui diu multumque sit industriâ elaboratus, qui ubertate et varietate et copiâ floreat, qui denique ad omnes res ornandas sit accommodatus, suisque omnibus numeris et partibus absolutus et perfectus. Atqui hæc ferè omnia, quæ ego poëtæ vel decori fore vel planè necessaria esse contenderim, quotus est quisque, qui in rudi ætate reperiri posse existimet?

Meam autem hanc esse de totâ hâc re opinionem lubentissimè fateor; ætatem, quæ ad poëtam informandum maximè sit utilis, eam videri, quam neque omni ex parte vocaveris rudem incultamque, nec vitæ elegantis cumulatissimè ornatam. Veritas in medio sita est. At verò frustrâ quæsivi, quid commodi insit rudi ævo, quod minùs inesset eleganti, comperto tamen, quod inest eleganti, rudi nequaquam. Mihi quidem non latet, secula illa, quæ barbara sunt, multis sæpe laudibus a quibusdam scriptoribus efferri. Hi autem scriptores, nî opinio me mea vehementissimè fallit, a communi hominum intelligentiâ et a communibus artis poëticæ præceptis ideò abhorrent, quòd sapere se plus quàm cæteros tum demum arbitrantur, cum præsentia quæque aspernari et sùsque dèque de iis ferre

ferre profitentur. Vix, aut ne vix quidem, iniquum me futurum esse existimem, si cum hisce vel erroribus vel argutiis aliquantulum invidiæ conjunctum esse contendam*.

Quinetiam, ut a theoriâ paululùm deflectamus ad experientiam contemplandam, utra, quæso, ætas plures, eosdemq; magnos, poëtas protulit? Possem equidem inter Atticos numerare cùm gravitatem et cothurnum et sonum Sophoclis, tùm Euripidem illum, qui mirus est in affectibus concitandis, et qui impetum sermonis habet vehementem fortassè minùs, sed multò, ut mihi videtur, ipso Sophocle dulciorem. Possem ex iis, qui Augustino in ævo floruerunt, sententiæ meæ gravissimum mihi testem Virgilium excitare. Possem in partes meas e Galliâ vocare Boileauvium, Corneillium, Racinium, Voltairium, alios. Sed patriæ me meæ amor aliò rapit. Fierine potest, ut silentio præteream, quâ meum animum voluptate sæpe et sæpiùs perfuderit gravitas illa Drydeni cum suavitate mirificè conjuncta, et, ubertas ingenii, et sententiarum pondus, et qui complet aures meas, tantus et tam dulcis sonitus verborum? Te verò,

* Τὸν γὰρ ὅντα ἅπας εἶπεν ἰπαινῶν· καὶ μόνος αὖ καὶ ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς οὐκ ὅμοιοι, ἀλλ' ὀλίγων χεῖρας, κριθήντι. Φθόνῳ γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντίπαλον τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀνταγωνισμὸς εὐνοία τεύχεται. Thucyd. B. μί. Edit. Duk.

Popi, te, inquam, amicum Musis, te comitem Musarum, hæc in causâ perhonorificè a me gratoque ac pio animo nominandum censeb. Neque enim, si belli quidam et putidiusculi ardeliones censoriam illam virgulam suam in scripta tua distrinxerint, tibi ego unquam defuerim vel patroni vel laudatoris loco. Nunquid auditis, Academici, ut infelix illa Eloisa miserabile suum carmen integret, et læsos amores quodammodò præsens lamentetur, et inauspicatum Abelardi nomen queribunda invocet? Nunquid raptis Belindæ crinibus cedit coma Berenices? O lautam illam sententiarum suppellectilem, et flexanimos vocum concentus illitarum mysticâ dulcedine, et vix hominem sonantis loquelæ succum atque sanguinem! O querelas gemitusque, qui vel ex ferreis legentium præcordiis lachrymulas eliciunt! O sales illos urbanos, et facetias non tam in singulis dictis, quàm in toto colore dicendi, redolentes ipsarum Athenarum proprium saporem*!

Ecce autem animo meo obversatur Miltonus, non seculi modò sui, sed temporum omnium, non patriæ solùm suæ, sed universi orbis terrarum, decus et ornamentum! Dederim profectò illum, vi ingenii sui fretum, in "altos nubium tractus" tendisse, dederim "ultra flammantia mænia mundi" aciem

* Quintil. Lib. 6. Cap. 3.

mentis suæ coniecisse, dederim in sacrâ ipsorum
 cælorum penetralia "pennis non homini datis"
 ascendisse. Hæc tamen etsi concesserim, imò
 mordicùs tenuerim esse verissima, ad alia tamen
 respiciendum esse arbitror, quæ tanquam admi-
 nicula quædam se adhibuisse, ne Miltonus qui-
 dem ipse confiteri erubesceret. Quis enim philoso-
 phiam, procreatricem illam artium ferè omnium et
 quasi parentem, diligentius aut exquisitiùs excoluit?
 Quis a doctrinâ omni liberali et quidem reconditâ
 ornatior? Quis ex illâ luce veritatis et vitæ magis-
 trâ, historiâ, ampliorem segetem et materiem gloriæ
 suæ comparavit? Quis ad gentium jura explicanda
 et tuenda instructior accessit? Quis libertatem in-
 termissam et intermortuam gravioribus argumentis
 ab interitu vindicavit? Quis arcana illa et sancta
 religionis mysteria aut majori unquam subtilitate
 explicuit, aut studio acriori ad tutandum sibi
 proposuit? Hæc ille omnia, veluti thesauros rerum
 optimarum, in memoriâ suâ habuit recondita. Hæc
 probè novit vel adjumento sibi fore vel orna-
 mento in præclaris illis operibus conficiendis, quæ
 suo Marte ad umbilicûm ducturus esset. Hos ille
 fructus ex ætate, in quâ florere sibi contigerat,
 uberes et diuturnos percepit.

Hic profectò ille est, (cogit enim orationis hujus
 propositum excedere observantia mea in tantum vi-
 rum) hic ille est, qui sæpenumerò effecit, ut quod

a Quintiliano de oratore scriptum sit, id ego hunc in modum parcè detorqueam: optimum scilicet poëtam esse optimum virum. Miltoni itaque Manes Paradisi fruantur lætitiâ sui.

Poëtarum horum clarissimorum jure merito agmen claudit Grayius, cujus quidem carmina cum naturâ tum arte facta esse laudabilia, nemo est vestrum, Academici, qui inficias iverit. Fremerit licet et sæviêrit per hancce curiam Johnsonianorum cohors, Grayium tamen illum, tam in meam quàm in vestram clientelam traditum, naviter et animosè et fortiter defendam. Grayii ad ingenium si spectes, celeres fuerunt ejus motus, ad omne, quod novum videretur, arripiendum, ad omne, quod excelsum et magnificum esset, feliciter excogitandum. Novas ille quidem et inexploratas per semitas impavidus ruit, neque est qui audeat sequi. Egetne interprete*? Profectò, lucidum est illud poëtices jubar, quod sensus percellit enerves, et profanorum oculorum aciem præstringit hebetatque. Videte modò, ut Suada

* ——— οὐκ ἔστι βίβη

Ἐνδοῖσι φασίγας

Φινάρτα συντοίῃσι. ἰς

Δι τὸ πᾶσι ἰγυρίαν

Χαρίῃσι

Pind. Olymp. B'. 150.

labris

labris ejus sessitaverit, ut bilinguis Musa melle dulcior fluat! At verò superbissimum illud aurium judicium, at delicatum, quod etiam in seipso inerat, fastidium, at Criticorum genus austerum et irritabile, vel pudorem ei vel formidinem iniecerunt. Hâc de causâ nullam non impendit curam, quò solidam et exquisitam doctrinam sibi compararet. Vetustatis rudera perscrutatus est. Scripta quæque optima cùm veterum tum recentiorum poëtarum legit relegitque. Versus suos, antequàm in lucem emiserit, iterùm et sæpiùs incudi reddidit. Antiquiorum monumenta imitando ita expressit, ut meminerit se debere lectoribus, qui sui æquales essent, placere.

Ex iis igitur, quæ a me dicta sunt, satis supèrque constat, Grayium, Miltonum, et alios, quorum mentionem feci, in seculis, quæ abundarent omnibus elegantiss, esse natos, eâque de causâ evasisse poëtas longè perfectiores*.

* Cùm oratiunculam hancce meam in Scholis Academicis publicè haberem, ultimæ illius sententiæ loco his mihi verbis peroratum est :

‘ Grayius igitur mihi semper in deliciis: nullâ tamen aliâ de causâ cariorem eum habeo, quàm quòd, donec in hoc Musarum domicilio commorabatur, famam ille suam ex solidâ et pervagatâ Academicorum suorum opinione maluerit, quàm ex unius hominis arbitrio pendere, et quòd honores sædè abreptos æquo animo tulerit, et suffragia aliis eblandita fastidiosè contempserit.’

○ Petierat nimirum Grayius Comitem de Bute Professoris Historici munus, quod quidem postea ei sua sponte mandavit Dux de Grafton. Sed apud Scoti istius mentem ingenium Grayii, et doctrina, et probi mores, minus valuerunt, quam artes adulatoriae competitoris.

Cujusmodi autem fuerit illud facinus, quod me tunc temporis impulerit, ut hoc de Grayio commemorarem, satis est notum aequalibus meis Academicis. Si autem roget quispiam, quare in notam id, quod publice recitarem, hic transferendum statuerim, respondeo, non defuturos esse, qui ægrè ferrent, si illud omnino omissem. Quod si res, ad quam respexi, mihi non tanti hodie videatur, ut vel in ipsâ oratione meâ locum suum jam ampliùs teneat, vel sit fusiùs a me in hoc loco et magis dilucidè exposita, faciliè, uti spero, veniam mihi dabit Cantabrigiensis ille **ARBITER ELEGANTiarum**, cujus pusillo in corpore mens est magis pusilla.

No. XI.

A S P E E C H

ON THE CHARACTER AND MEMORY

OF

KING WILLIAM THE THIRD.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE
KINGDOM
OF
ENGLAND
FROM
THE
DEATH
OF
RICHARD
THE
FIRST
TO
THE
DEATH
OF
HENRY
THE
THIRD

BY
JOHN
HARRIS
OF
THE
MIDDLE
TEMPLE
ESQ.
OF
THE
COUNCIL
OF
THE
KING
ON
THE
CHARACTER
AND
MEMORY

KING WILLIAM THE THIRD

No. XI.

A SPEECH, &c.

THE habits of prejudice are so intimately combined with the motives of human action, so moulded into the manners, and blended with the frame and temper of society, that he who would wish to guard against this infirmity of his nature, must find a singular difficulty in executing a task like the present with that fidelity, which ought ever to be inseparable from historical disquisition. In undertaking to delineate the features of a character, which is undoubtedly one of the first and greatest that have ever appeared on the grand theatre of the world, it generally happens, that our passions refuse to tarry for the decision of the judgment, and so forcibly sway us to a predilection for one or the other party, that, according to the bent which our inclinations take, we know not how to circumscribe either extreme of censure or applause. But, recollecting what we

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owe to our great and glorious deliverer, William the Third, every Briton will feel this difficulty increase upon him, when he attempts to do justice to that venerable name, lest in his endeavour to avoid the extravagance of eulogium, he should forget for a moment the most sacred ties of moral obligation, the debt of gratitude for the inestimable benefits we have received from the restorer of the dearest rights and liberties which this nation has now to boast. It would be no easy (as neither before an English audience would it be a necessary) task, to select such actions as shed peculiar lustre upon the character of a prince, whose whole life was one continued scene of glory. On the other hand, it would be invidious, not to say impossible, to enumerate every objection, that the ingenuity of a faction actuated by malice, and inflamed by disappointment, has been able to devise. To avoid each extreme, it may not, perhaps, be amiss to examine the principal objections that the enemies of this prince have endeavoured to bring against him, and to inquire, what weight each of them separately, and all of them collectively, ought to have with us in forming a just estimate of William's real and appropriate merit.

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It is not the intent of this inquiry to enter into a circumstantial detail of every occurrence relating to William even in his political career. Disquisition is forbidden to trespass on the limits of biography. It is my province, to comment on the principal events of his history in that stage where it more especially interests us as Englishmen; not to describe the milder and more temperate lustre of his dawning glory, but the full and gorgeous splendour of his meridian power; not to take a retrospective view of those measures which eventually invested him with the royal ermines, but rather to consider him as already in his most public station sustaining the weight of that sceptre, which had devolved to him from the feeble and unsteady hands of James.

Yet, before we proceed after this manner to obviate the arguments adduced by his several opponents, there is one circumstance, the mention of which it were unpardonable in this place to forego. During the whole of those divisions, which ensued on the abdication of James, relative to the mode of succession, amidst all that fluctuation of interests and counsels, and the temporizing politics of contending factions, William never attempted to interpose his authority in parliament, to restrain their deliberations, nor even
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to gain any one person to his party, refusing to accept of the supreme magistracy of the nation, till the offering should be voluntarily confirmed by an assemblage of the two legislative powers. For a similar instance of public delicacy and moderation, displayed at a season when these principles are too apt to yield to the more prudential suggestions of policy, we shall in vain search in the history of earlier or of later times.

Of the objections urged against William, the first in order of time, as well as, perhaps, in magnitude, is the massacre of Glencoe. Macdonald, the arch-rebel of the North, was represented as breathing an obstinate and inveterate rancour against him, which nothing but death could extinguish, and he was said to have infused the same spirit of hostility into the numerous and hardy clan of his own name, whom this enterprising leader commanded with absolute sway. The necessity of stifling the seeds of this rebellion by crushing the only surviving hopes of the party, was strongly insisted upon by those who conducted the English affairs in Scotland; and William, whose active spirit busied about the more extensive concerns of Europe, could ill stoop to confine its attention to every minute variation of domestic politics, among other papers
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hastily signed the mandate which allowed no quarter to the rebels, probably without knowing the exact tendency or contents of the order, but certainly without being previously informed of Macdonald's submission. Hence his adversaries have taken occasion to accuse him of indulging a vindictive and sanguinary temper, and of exercising a cool deliberate cruelty by no means compatible with that generosity and magnanimity, which have been usually ascribed to him. The measures of the monarch depended, doubtless, on the representations and even the misrepresentations of his servants, upon that which they exaggerated from prejudice, and upon that which they concealed from perfidy. What he heard from them, must have alarmed his fears; what he did not hear, would have operated on his clemency. In truth, we cannot fairly suspect William to have been capable of an act of such base and unfeeling revenge, unless we suppose, that in a paroxysm of unmanly rage he departed from the regular tenor of his whole life, which, even amidst the horrors of war, was eminently distinguished for the unwearied exercise of humanity and mercy. Such a conclusion would too widely deviate from the established rules of fair and impartial inquiry; and, indeed, the whole transaction,

transaction, aggravated as it is by the impudence of malice and the petulancy of invective, affords but very slight grounds for a serious charge against him, who is allowed from defect of intelligence to have been but partially concerned in it's execution.

A second accusation against William respects his conduct towards the Scots, relative to their settlement on the isthmus of Darien. The Scots, it is true, might have reaped the promised advantage of their scheme: but the Spaniards complained of that scheme as a direct infringement of the treaty subsisting between them and this country, and it tended, moreover, materially to injure the trade to the West, carried on by the merchants inhabiting the Southern part of this island. And as the king had been imposed upon by false representations of the Scots, in order to induce him to countenance the settlement, on discovery of the fraud it became him, as a friend to equity and substantial justice, immediately to revoke a grant partial in it's operation, and ruinous to the general interests of his dominions. This is a rule that prevails even in the strictness of legal proceedings; for in every contract between the king and the subject, where

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the sovereign has been deceived, the law will intend, that the deed was *ab initio* void.

He is also charged with an excessive partiality for the place of his birth. But this, so far from being imputed to him as a crime, should, surely, be considered as an amiable attachment, unless it can be proved, what his bitterest enemies durst never even remotely insinuate, that in any instance he sacrificed the real interests of Great Britain to a violent predilection for his native country. And why, but from a portion of that captious and pertinacious temper, which was wont to mix with the sublimer habits and more generous sentiments of that illustrious age, was the people such a niggard of the kingly countenance, as not to allow him sometimes to dissipate the rays of royalty within the confines of his original hemisphere? When the beautiful and luminous planet of Liberty had shone so long upon us with such constant and unvaried lustre, should it not seem invidious to restrict it's revolutions within the narrow circle of a single nation, and to repine at the little irregularities of it's course, and the occasional eccentricities of it's motion? This was that quiet retreat, remote from the turbulence of faction and the petty warfare of domestic feuds, where he projected the most efficient means
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for the attainment of his ends, and planned the several arrangements, that tended to secure the general peace and welfare of Europe. It was not the soft and pleasurable asylum of inactive sovereignty, accommodated to the elegance and refinement of a royal voluptuary, but the calm recess, where, free from interruption, he laboured to undermine the insidious purposes of his rival Louis.

And here it may seem most proper to remark, that William is accused of unnecessarily involving this country in a long and bloody continental war, merely to gratify his private spleen and resentment against his declared and inveterate enemy, the king of France. In answer to this it must be observed, that the critical situation of affairs in Europe indispensably demanded an immediate and active opposition to counteract the machinations of that restless and ambitious prince. Charles the Second, indeed, with his usual profligacy and supineness had actually consented to sacrifice to the intrigues of Louis the rights of the Low Countries, and together with these his own interests, and those of all the other powers of Europe, by allowing the United Provinces to be absorbed and ingulphed in that universal monarchy, which it was evidently the design of the French

French monarch to introduce. But William, who more accurately understood, and more sincerely regarded, the relative interests of the several European powers, heroically stood forward the patriot of the universe, and the guardian and defender of the rights of mankind. He saw, when the despot of the North threatened to overwhelm all Europe, as it were with an irresistible torrent of conquest, that the Low Countries stood, like their own dykes opposed to the ocean, the only firm barriers to resist the encroachments of the tide of tyranny. He, therefore, cheerfully undertook their defence, and his arms were crowned with that success, to which he was amply entitled from the rectitude of his intention, and from the merits of his cause. Nor is it too much to say, that to him must be ascribed that precise and intimate comprehension of the balance of power in Europe, which might even at this day have preserved it in exact and steady equipoise*.

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* Of this balance we have lately heard many frivolous or fallacious commendations, though at present we scarcely see one beneficial or definite effect. When the equipoise of European power was at the very worst but inconsiderably or remotely endangered by the acquisition of three quarters of a mile of barren territory on the banks of the Niester, we were on the point of being plunged into war for support-

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It may be thought adviseable by some, though it appears almost needless, to obviate the supposed evil principle, upon which he undertook the deliverance of this country. His adversaries allege, that the Revolution, so far from being the result of patriotic motives, was brought about by William, solely with a view to indulge his private ambition and inordinate lust of power. But those who seek to trace this prince's conduct to such unworthy springs of action, will do well to shew,

ing the balance. Now, when by the actual partition of one whole kingdom, and by the threatened partition of another and a larger and a nearer kingdom, the danger is become far less disputable and far less distant, we are engaged in another war, the very success of which must tend to multiply all the most irregular variations of the balance, to perpetuate the miseries which have already arisen from the disturbance of the balance, and, in fine, to strengthen those very powers which are most interested in preventing the restoration of the balance. Ministerial influence may give effect to such monstrous and incongruous measures. Ministerial rhetoric may be employed in varnishing their deformity. Ministerial vanity may be gratified by the prevalence of opinions, which seem to owe their extreme external popularity to their extreme internal incredibility. But wise men, amidst all the clamours against innovation, will pierce into the real designs of real innovators, while good men survey with indignation the approaching consequences of new systems of politics, and of new balances of power.

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why he positively rejected the proffered sovereignty of the Low Countries, when Louis undertook to make him absolute master of them, and this at a time when he was but a youth, and when even his legal authority trembled in the balance. If, therefore, at an age when man's pulse beats highest in the cause of ambition, and while the wayward soul is most apt to be allured by the insidious caresses of delusive fortune, he so disinterestedly refused to trample on the rights of others, when perfect security and even reward awaited their violation, can we for a moment suppose, that he was capable of forming and executing a deliberate plan of usurpation upon the basest and most unjustifiable principles, and at the imminent hazard of his own reputation and authority at home?

But I disdain to comment on these and similar artifices employed by the prevaricating tribe of sophistical disputants, who have occasionally distorted even virtues into vices by the overstrained ingenuity of accusation. Such of the faults objected to him as appear to have any foundation in truth, are for the most part too venial to require a refutation; those which are founded in falshood, contain their own: the former cannot influence the man of candour, nor the latter the man

of discernment. The detractors of William, by thus catching at every shadow of accusation, do but prove their inability to produce a solid and substantial charge.

This commemoration, however, is not, I conceive, of such a nature, as to require an indiscriminate encomiast of the character which I have undertaken to delineate. The real faults as well of men in more exalted, as of those who are in humbler stations, ought not to escape remark in a review of their lives and actions. I may go farther, and say, that the conduct of princes and of all public servants ought to be more severely scrutinized, than that of men who have walked in the sober shades of sequestered life. For these are the persons, in whose good or ill actions the public are too deeply interested, not to wish to see the former applauded as an incitement to imitation, the latter censured as an example to deter. And where can freedom of inquiry be more consistently indulged, than in scrutinizing the memory of him, whose whole life tended to establish the liberty of thought and action? Since, therefore, it cannot be supposed, that William had an especial charter of exemption from the ordinary frailties of his nature, we may congratulate ourselves, that such frailties as appeared in his administration

administration, seem to have been rather the result of a defect of judgment and foresight, than the offspring of deliberate design. They were partly owing to his being less conversant in the operations of internal polity, than in the plots and counterplots of jarring powers, but principally to his want of knowledge in the nature of limited monarchy, which was not then understood by any nation but our own.

To these causes alone must be attributed the attachment which he early imbibed, and long retained, to a standing army. Educated in a foreign land, and inured by long experience to the manners and habitudes of military life, he was necessarily rendered much less quick to discern, and, by consequence, more slow to remove, those enormous and countless evils, which flow from that gigantic system of moral and political turpitude, that sanctified patronage of murder and rapacity, that dissolute institution for the nursery and propagation of all that is glaringly depraved and sordidly abject among men. But in a standing army William solely beheld the advantages which result from security against sudden invasion, without considering the superior and preponderating mischiefs, which accrue from the same source to national liberty and virtue. His ardent desire of
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repelling with promptitude and vigour those aggressions, which he might reasonably apprehend from the jealous perfidy of the court of Versailles, obscured his perception of the private vices and the public injuries, of the rapine and the profligacy, of the slavish tenets and the pernicious example of an established and permanent soldiery. The motives, therefore, and the conduct of William must on these accounts be exempted from any share of that general execration, which all intelligent and virtuous citizens are warranted to bestow upon all kings and upon all ministers, who have at any time avowedly or insidiously countenanced a plan of such transcendental iniquity, a measure so absolutely repugnant to every feeling of genuine humanity, and to every principle of sound and practical freedom. That he never considered a standing army in the light in which it is now generally understood, as a scheme for the secure interchange of criminality between tyrants and robbers, as a reciprocal guaranty of plunder and oppression between the chief magistrate and a licensed banditti, is clearly evinced by the following fact. When Trenchard, that unwearied champion of public liberty, the scourge and the dread of temporal and spiritual domination, published his celebrated History of Standing

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ing Armies, Lord Halifax moved in council, that he should be taken into custody for the opinions contained in it. But William refused to listen to a measure so unjust and so tyrannical, declaring at the same time, that he believed Trenchard to have a clear comprehension of the interests, and a sincere attachment to the prosperity, of his country. The army was disbanded.

William seems to have been defective in his attention to naval affairs, and to have neglected the empire of the ocean, not being sufficiently aware, that the strength of England, like that of Athens, resided in her wooden walls, and that her natural element was the element surrounding her.

This reign is distinguished by the first regular commencement of a national debt, through the advice of that celebrated financier, the Marquis of Halifax; and also by the fuller introduction of the present established system of influence. The latter of these, which he certainly promoted, may appear, perhaps, to have been in some degree excusable from the peculiarity of his situation. Yet would not I willingly dwell on the subject of this fatal measure, lest an honest and irresistible indignation against the deplorable corruptions that have ensued from it, should not allow me sufficiently to discriminate between the origin of

the malady and its probable issue. It was planted in impolicy. It has grown, and is growing, under corruption. And what the last baneful fruits of it may be, is a question, upon which reason compels us to fear, and conjecture itself scarce permits us to hope.

With respect, indeed, to the system of funding, which has since been carried to such an enormous extent in the scheme of taxation, though William must ever remain chargeable with the introduction of it, there is, notwithstanding, no very courtly reason to be assigned, why succeeding kings, who were enabled to judge more correctly of the nature of the evil, might not have checked its farther progress, rather than have contributed to its perpetuity, and thus have entailed an inheritance of increasing vexation on their posterity. Between William and his successors this very material distinction is worthy of being observed; that he, in giving birth to this national grievance, acted under the control of an imperious necessity, that they have continued and increased it from deliberate choice. He obtained the immediate good, but foresaw not the distant evil; they have both seen and cherished the evil, without even decently screening themselves behind a counterfeit pretext of the good. He once treating unskillfully

fully a constitution naturally healthful and sound, wounded it for the moment; they have irritated the wound, till it has become a corroding ulcer. He, in the unblemished purity of his intention, vainly hoped, that he should transmit to us a goodly monument of human policy; they with a corrupt and hardy perseverance, fated to possess experience apart from the benefits attending it, though they readily trace out the pregnant danger of the ruinous bequest, yet seem desirous to consign it to their posterity carefully secured from the hazard of diminution. But, the accumulated testimony of all times gives us too much reason to apprehend, that the surest result from the experience of evil is, that in proportion as we become instructed in the practicability of mischief, we are rendered eager to plead the precedent as a ready palliative for subsequent commission, rather than to break the chain of fact, by which that precedent is established.

On the other hand, however, it has been contended, and that by many able politicians, that such a plan is productive of great and solid advantage to this country: That, by allowing foreigners to become purchasers into our funds, we certainly derive to ourselves a considerable influx of wealth, which must otherwise necessarily flow into
another

another channel, at the same time that by such a communication they must naturally imbibe a more amicable disposition towards us in the general course of European policy: That, at any rate, circumstanced as the nation then was, it had no other ostensible resources to answer the exigencies of war, nor any other means so effectual to attach men to the new order of things, as by tempting them to embark their fortunes on the same bottom: That much credit is, therefore, due to that minister, who in time of need could devise so fertile a scheme of supply, and much praise to that prince, who knew how to select talents so eminently qualified to manage the intricate business of the national revenue: That, farthermore, if this plan of finance wanted any additional proof of the wisdom of it's invention, the invariable practice of succeeding ages in adopting and extending it, affords an ample testimony of it's superior excellence in the estimation of all ranks of men.

It is not for me to reconcile these latter opinions either with reason or with equity. On the contrary, for my own part I must ever unequivocally condemn the first act of a merciless and injurious policy, which can unfeelingly anticipate the revenues of distant ages, and revenge upon the

the head of unborn posterity the follies and extravagancies of a spendthrift ancestry. And hereafter, perhaps, should the evil genius of Britain conspire with the infinitely varying exigencies of time and circumstance, to demolish a constitution, which is holden up to us as the perfection and masterpiece of political organism, the most determined advocate of William the Third may then be compelled to admit, that he who had once successfully retrieved the drooping interests of our enfeebled government, may also justly be accused of having given his unwary sanction to two measures, which contained in them the seeds of its future dissolution. Yet, I will not insist upon this, as the only subject of apprehension. In one acknowledged error of William I will not leave a shelter for all the possible faults of William's successors. From the evil, which he began without foresight of consequences, and which after experience of consequences we have continued, it might not be amiss to spare some portion of our attention for other evils, which have been both begun, and also continued by ourselves alone. Is there a government, in which solid improvement is rejected under the specious but hollow plea of precarious innovation, a government, in which principles are most violated at the very moment

moment when they are most extolled, in which evil is retained under the perverted sanction of precedent, and good is abandoned from a pretended change of circumstances? Doubtless, if such a government there be, the many hidden and the many prominent causes which are conspiring for it's ruin, make it difficult to single out any one of those causes, which for rapidity and malignity of operation has a right to pre-eminence above it's fellows.

But let us return to William; and let us remember, that his few faults when opposed to his many virtues, are "as dust in the balance," and that, like dust, too, they would have been "without weight and without regard," if our crimes had not perpetuated, what his necessities at first introduced. Of those virtues it becomes us now to make some mention; for mentioned they may be more directly and more explicitly, after we have repelled or weakened the accusations, that have been pointed against those faults.

To a philosopher reasoning in the shade, and deducing from abstract speculative principles the possible contingencies of things to come, had it in the reign of the latter Charles been foretold, that, as soon as the fourth prince of the house of Stuart should have been seated four years on the throne of
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his forefathers, his dominions should be wrested from his grasp, his authority wither away and die, his own family abjure his intercourse, his personal safety be endangered, and himself become an outcast and an exile dependent for support on the enemy of his country; the most romantic credulity could never have prevailed on him to consider the prediction, but as the chimerical flight of fancy, or the reverie of a distempered brain.

Indeed, when I myself recollect the various and complicated difficulties, which preceded the final accomplishment of the Revolution: when I consider the chaotic mixture of divers elements, unexpectedly conspiring by opposite efficacies towards the same end; the jarring interests of civil and religious zeal; the concealed animosities of individuals, and the avowed hostilities of factions, each, as the occasion suited, or as temporary advantage directed, at one time aiding William, at another opposing him with all its vigour: when I reflect on the fluctuating temper of the times, which tended to sever and disunite the bands of public confidence, and to render alliances either suspected in their faith, or precarious in their continuance: when I contemplate our natural aversion to all hazardous enterprizes,

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the influence of established government, and that fatal waywardness so epidemical among the sons of men, by which they are led to defend the very authority which oppresses them, and to become the active instruments of their own servitude : when I revolve in my mind the capricious and arbitrary vicissitudes of popular favour, and that inconstant tide in human affairs, so frequently retreating in a contrary direction : when I present before my eyes the helpless condition of a fallen monarch, and the recurring affection which is wont to be excited by pity for the tears of degraded, though guilty, majesty : when I meditate upon all this, and perceive that the adventurous enterprize was, nevertheless, not only attended by fortune, but even closely followed by a permanent succession, and a peaceable adjustment of the troubles of the state, it should seem to me, that this beautified arrangement of the order of events, was rather the transitory illusion of a flattering dream, than the real statement of an historical fact.

From this consideration a most important and valuable lesson might be derived by a wise prince. It would teach him, not to rely too securely on the flattering appearances of things around him, but to look for his ultimate support rather in
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the well-earned affections of his subjects, than in the hollow and delusive representations of deceitful ministers: it would teach him, also, to abstain from the arrogant exertion of those usurped powers, which the subject has prudently chosen to withhold from him, and, however he may trifle for a while with the generous forbearance of his people, yet carefully to recollect, that their vengeance, like the wrath of heaven, accumulates in proportion to it's delay.

It is said, that we are never duly sensible of the full value of our blessings, till after we have lost them. If this be true, as experience evinces, it will, also, by consequence happen, that our joy for the preservation of those blessings will always be proportionate to the once apparent danger of losing them. Our sense of obligation, therefore, for the glorious Revolution must continually increase, as we more closely consider the improbability of it's having then been effected. We gazed with apathy upon the menacing meteor which enveloped in a portentous blaze the whole face of our political horizon, waiting till it should suddenly burst upon us, and pour it's vengeance on our devoted heads. We surveyed, without attempting to repair, the breach that had long been made, and was increasing daily, in our constitution,

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like a soldier who sees his parent slaughtered by his side, and from the stagnation of his feelings is unable either to avert the blow, or to revenge it. We continued repeatedly to traverse with a dull monotonous uniformity the same tedious circle of temporary expedient and timid remonstrance. Our senses were apoplexed; and the only melancholy consolation for our abject estate was, that the acuteness of our injuries seemed to be blunted by the accumulated weight of their pressure, and their number to be lost in their magnitude.

Yet it might be observed, in palliation of that long acquiescence under oppression which our ancestors exhibited, that Charles the Second had the art to clothe his domination in a specious garb, and to give a sort of recommendation to slavery by the trappings and garniture in which he arrayed it. He did not dare to insult the feelings of the nation by requiring their acceptance of an undisguised and unequivocal servitude, presented to their sight in all the nakedness of its genuine deformity. He warily compromised with the understandings of his people, and made a shew and display of conferring with them on their own concerns. And so long, indeed, our ancestors, living under the delusion of freedom, and cajoled by the arts of government into the belief of a rational

onal power over their own actions, were at no pains to investigate the fact, how far they were blessed with the real substance of liberty, and how far they were mocked with the pageant and the name. They still retained the disposition to be free, but they submitted to the continual accumulations of their burdens, as being not fully sensible of their increasing enormity. Their spirit was alive, but their senses were benumbed. They were still in their hearts a liberal and a generous people, and if they had not thought they were freemen, they would not have endured to be slaves. Acting under the influence of prejudice, and the dominion of habit, and naturally reluctant to search into the truth of doctrines which they had long imbibed, they did not care to inquire about their original rights, and the various modes by which the exercise of those rights was incessantly abridged.

But, when James the Second succeeded to the throne, he resolved to advance with rampant and gigantic strides to the utmost verge of arbitrary power, and scorned to use any stage or resting-place in the progress of his accelerated despotism. Then at last, when the side of the nation was openly pierced with the deadliest arrow of destruction, the shriek of agonizing liberty resounded through the plains and the cities of this

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affrighted isle. It was then, that we indignantly refused to "let our beards be shook with danger, and to think it pastime." Then it was, that we began to appear not dead, but sleeping, that we "roused ourselves, like strong men after slumber, and shook our invincible locks*."

To providence it must be attributed, that the nation at that time cast their eyes on William, as the person most able to refit their crazy constitution, the last remaining hope of civil and religious freedom. Yet, let it not be thought, that I would insult the sense of this or of any other nation so far, as to suppose the possibility of a case, where, but for the existence of some particular man, they may not of themselves be free. This would be to confound the reason of things, to invert the just order of natural authority, and to reduce the energies of the puissant people to an abject reliance upon individual power. "No: I am only desirous to shew, that such was the lamentable dearth of public spirit and of public virtue in that critical juncture, such, too, let me add, the gross prejudices and unworthy animosities of contending factions, that England seemed to have no other resource to replace the last miserable object that had defiled her throne, than in raising an alien prince

* Milton's Areopagitica.

to her abdicated sovereignty. But I must ever contend, that if our forlorn condition appeared to require a foreign king, we were fortunate to find that king in William. To him we are, indeed, indebted for the source of our best enjoyments and our dearest privileges. Not that we derived a right to those privileges from the revolution: not that liberty can be the boon of human bounty. Those privileges and that liberty are the proper right of every man—they are the vigorous growth of the better part of our nature—they are inherent and inalienable—and to the exercise of them man is born no less than to the exercise of all his intellectual and his moral powers. A right, I say, to those privileges was always ours: It was our own, had the revolution never taken place. But the revolution both recognized the existence, and established the security, of that right.

The advocates for the free exercise of private judgment in questions of religion, will ever recollect, that to William we are indebted for the first act of genuine toleration; that he was the first to liberate the mind from the fear of temporal penalties in the investigation of truths which point to eternity, and to break down those artificial barriers, which a crooked policy would interpose between man and his creator. They who regard

the commercial interests and the opulence of Britain, will find abundant cause of praise, when they consider, that he erected the Bank of England, and greatly augmented our Indian revenues, by uniting the two Companies. Those minds, whose benevolence is too comprehensive to be limited to the promotion of amity among individuals, may reasonably rejoice in his recommendation of cementing into one federal and incorporated mass the seemingly heterogeneous principles of English and Scottish government. Lastly, they whom reflection has taught the superiority of moral over political excellence, will not fail to remark that unparalleled effort of magnanimity, which led him to sacrifice his personal resentment to the public service, when by his last appointment he constituted Marlborough his general and ambassador to conduct the Grand Alliance, disregarding the memory of his former injuries.

At the time of the Revolution our constitution derived a considerable energy from the Act, entitled, "The Bill of Rights," which limited by legal coercion that monstrous and inordinate extent to which prerogative had been carried in former reigns, which abolished it's dispensing power, and it's arbitrary maintenance of standing armies; which asserted the doctrine of resistance to the executive

executive magistrate, whenever he should attempt to subvert the fundamental rights of his people ; and which ascertained in clear and emphatical terms a just balance between liberty and licence. About five or six years after this, we obtained the Triennial Act, which, by returning more frequently from the mass of the people a set of delegates breathing in common with them the same desires and the same aversions, and the continuance, also, of whose power should be too short for them to acquire during it that separate interest, which is the bane of general liberty, gave to the constituent body their only security for the virtue and integrity of the representative. Under this reign, in fine, no less than seven Acts were made to prevent undue influence on election ; and though from some of them William, partly at the instigation of his Queen, withheld his immediate concurrence, yet his final approbation of them, as soon as they appeared to be the decided wishes of the nation, serves to bespeak the genuine disciple of the great De Witt, and to shew, that the nearest object of William's heart was the solid and permanent freedom of his people.

The bounds of time which I must prescribe to myself on this occasion, will not allow me severally to enumerate all the advantages derived from

William and the Revolution. This mighty epoch in the history of nations, deserves to be commemorated on many more accounts than it's having freed England from a base and inglorious domination. In a summary mention of events, it would be impossible to explain the various alterations which it made in the politics of Europe, and in the manners and sentiments of our own nation. The Revolution would hardly merit the name of Glorious, from having raised one family to the throne in exclusion of another, had it not at the same time established on the firm basis of constitutional law a principle, which under similar circumstances might produce similar effects, and had it not given a new tone to popular habits, and a new direction to the current of thought. The mind of man, which had been so long depressed by the subjection in which it was holden, began now to feel its active powers renovated and expanded. Invention and genius, no longer intimidated by the baleful menaces of the Star Chamber, shook off those incumbrances which had retarded their flight, and fixed them to the earth. Courage, too, which had been cramped and crippled at the same time and from the same causes, now vindicated it's pretensions to that fame, which had lain dormant since the days of chivalry.

Hence

Hence, notions of liberty having become inseparably interwoven with the opinions of the people, what each individual thought, he considered himself entitled to declare: and hence, by gradual progression, the liberty of the press, the palladium of all our franchises, was brought to that state in which we now find it*, and which, though it may still seem to require some additional enlargement, yet this country, till the late glorious emancipations of America and France, enjoyed alone.

Great, however, and conspicuous as is William's glory in having secured to us our mental and actual independence, greater still and still

* When this passage was written, Associations such as we have lately seen, existed not. The leaders of such Associations had not been holden up by parliamentary sophists as good citizens. The common sense of the people had not been insulted by doctrines which endanger their common freedom. If these doctrines be acquitted of innovation, it must be upon the plea, that *before* the Revolution they had, indeed, been propagated by tyrants, tho' *at* the Revolution they were disclaimed by Parliament, and *after* the Revolution they had grown obsolete among the people. So far as their present abettors *invented* them not, we may acquit them of being innovators. But for reviving them when exploded, and for disseminating them when revived, posterity will pronounce them virtually guilty of the most dangerous innovation.

more

more conspicuous must be our disgrace and profligacy, if we lose it. After the enumeration, therefore, of the blessings which we derived from the Glorious Revolution, we are naturally led to inquire, what progress they have made amidst the increasing light of succeeding generations, whether they have kept pace with elder experience, or whether they have been found to be so perfect, that more matured reason would seek in vain to improve them. If these be, as they are, the natural objects of inquiry, the inquirer would probably manifest some tokens of surprize, were he told, that those beneficial laws had not only not been progressive, but had been suffered unheeded and neglected to be considerably impaired. This might excite his wonder. But what then will he say, when he learns, that the three wisest and most important provisions in favour of the people at the time of the Revolution, have not only been impaired, but are at this moment as though they had never been, that one of them is absolutely erased from the Constitution, and the others effectively null. What is become of that grand bulwark of our liberties, the Triennial Act? What of the Bill for excluding Placemen and Pensioners from the Commons' House of Parliament? And what of that Bill, which compelled every minister,

who

who advised any measure, to enter an acknowledgment of it on the books of the Privy Council*? What has become of these? It is my unwelcome

* By the Act of Settlement it was decreed,

‘ That from and after the time that the farther limitation by this Act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realm, *shall be transacted there*, and all resolutions taken thereupon *shall be signed* by such of the Privy Council, as shall advise and consent to the same.’

By the same act it was farther decreed,

‘ That no person who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons.’

These two provisions of the act of Settlement were unblushingly repealed by a complaisant Parliament of Queen Anne.

In the year 1742, Mr. Cornwall made a motion for the better securing the freedom of Parliaments by excluding Placemen and Pensioners from the House of Commons, according to the principles of the Revolution. The whole speech of Lord Strange upon this most important question is so fraught with wise and just observations, and is, indeed, in many respects so very remarkable, that I shall hope to be excused, if, notwithstanding its length, I give the greater part of it a place in this note; more especially, as ‘The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons,’ is a book rarely to be met with.

‘ SIR,

‘ As we seem to improve every day in those doctrines that are introductory of arbitrary power, the doctrine of corruption has this day been pushed farther than ever, I believe, it was in this house. It has been represented not only as a harmless, but as a
‘ necessary

welcome task to reply, that the first was daringly repealed, not by the people themselves, who alone possessed

necessary implement of government; and all the laws we have for excluding Pensioners and several sorts of officers, from having seats in this house, may, by the same mode of reasoning, be proved to be subversive of our constitution, and introductory of anarchy, confusion, and arbitrary power. If a gentleman of a small estate, or of an estate, however large, that cannot supply the wants of his luxury or avarice, cannot be supposed capable of being induced by any mercenary motive the crown can throw in his way, to consent to grants or regulations, or to approve of measures that tend towards the introduction of arbitrary power, or that appear to be inconsistent with the public good, why should we exclude Pensioners, why should we exclude the Commissioners and Officers of our Customs and Excise, from having seats in this house? If the power of granting pecuniary and mercenary rewards to members be so necessary for the managing of this house, and for answering the necessary ends of government, why should we in any respect abridge that power, which, if never so extensive, can do us no harm, and which, if too much abridged, may upset both our government and constitution? Surely, no man of common sense would make the least approach towards a precipice, if he could keep his distance without the least danger or inconvenience. Therefore, if we admit this doctrine, we must suppose those Parliaments void of common sense, in which the laws we now have for excluding Pensioners and several sorts of officers were agreed to.

But experience in all ages, and all countries, Sir, must convince us, that the doctrine is false, deceitful, and pernicious. In all countries, where arbitrary power ever was, or is now set up, corruption was the footstool, upon which it mounted into the throne. By corruption men are induced to arm their magistrates

possessed the right of repealing it, but by those Representatives whom they had delegated for three

trates, or supreme magistrate, with such powers, as enable them to destroy, first the essence, and afterwards the very face of public liberty. Whilst arbitrary power is in its infancy, and creeping up by degrees to man's estate, no doubt it will, it must refrain from acts of violence and compulsion. It will by bribery gain the consent of those it has not as yet got strength to compel; but, when it is by bribery grown up to it's full strength and vigour, even bribery itself will be neglected, and whoever then opposes it's views will be ruined, either by open violence, or false informations, and cooked-up prosecutions.

[His Lordship here illustrates from ancient history the various arts of progressive domination, and the gradual declension of nations towards servitude. He then proceeds thus.]

Let us consider, Sir, in what liberty and property truly consists, and we shall see, that where any one man has in his power a large fund for corruption, both may be absolutely destroyed, and an arbitrary power established, before people become generally sensible of their danger. A man's liberty consists in it's not being in the power of any man or magistrate, with impunity, to imprison or kill him, or inflict any personal punishment upon him, unless he has been formally tried, and justly condemned by that method of trial, and by those laws, which have been established, and are approved of by the majority of the society to which he belongs. Property again consists in a man's being secure of enjoying, and transmitting to his posterity, what has been left to him by his ancestors, or acquired by his own industry, unless the whole, or some part of it be taken from him, in pursuance of laws that have been established, and approved by the majority of the society to which he belongs. Whilst this is the case, every man of the society enjoys liberty

and

three years, but who delegated themselves for four years more, the leave of their constituents being

and property in their full extent; and this will be ever the case, as long as our Elections and Parliaments remain free from any influence either compulsive or corrupt.

But *suppose*, Sir, a majority of our House of Commons consisted of such as held lucrative places from the crown, and *suppose* a judge were to be brought before them, who, for the sake of some corrupt consideration, had, at the desire of the crown, illegally and unjustly condemned and imprisoned many of his fellow-subjects; would not the crown, I mean the ministers of the crown, endeavour to protect such a judge? Would they not give hints to their officers in this house, that a dismission would be the certain consequence of their giving a vote against this tool of a judge? And can we suppose, that many of those officers would chuse to lose a place of 500l. or 1000l. a year, rather than give a vote in favour of this judge? Sir, I have a very great opinion of our present judges, but without any reflection upon them, I will say, that it is upon the independency and integrity of our Parliaments that we must depend for the integrity and impartiality of our judges; for the crown has many ways to reward a pliable judge, and as many to punish an obstinate one. Nay, if Parliament were once become dependent upon the crown, an obstinate integrity would of itself be sufficient for getting a judge removed, by the addresses of both Houses of Parliament. For, if the majority of Parliament were such as depended upon the crown for getting, or holding, some lucrative employment, they would be easily persuaded, that such a judge had done injustice to the crown, or had fomented sedition, by shewing favor to the seditious, and under this pretence they would vote for addressing to remove him, without considering, that they thereby established arbitrary power, and made not only their own

estates

being neither given nor solicited. It may possibly be urged in alleviation of this heinous usurpation

‘ estates, but their lives and liberties, dependent upon the arbitrary will of their sovereign. For by this precedent all our judges would be convinced, that they must take directions from the ministers of the crown in all prosecutions, trials, and causes that might afterwards come before them : and what man could say, he had any liberty or property left, if the ministers of the crown had it in their power to take his life, liberty, or estate from him, whenever they pleased, by a false accusation, and a mock trial ?

‘ Even after such a fatal turn in our constitution, as long as a spirit of corruption prevailed among the people, and the court kept within the bounds of common decency, there would be no occasion for any compulsive method either at elections, or in Parliament, because the ministers would always find people enough that would be ready to take their money or their favors, and in expectation of return, would agree to vote as directed. But, *if*, by the ridiculous conduct of the court, a spirit of liberty should arise among the people, the violent and compulsive methods usual in such cases would be made use of. Informers, or *delatores*, as the Romans called them, would be found out and retained, and spread over the whole nation, in order to bring false informations against those who dared to oppose the court either at Elections or in Parliament ; and in both, men would be forced to vote according to the directions of a minister, in order to preserve that property by a slavish subjection, which they had before been endeavouring to increase by a villainous corruption.

‘ After what I have said, Sir, I hope, I need not particularly mention all the other methods, by which a corrupt dependent Parliament may sap the foundation of our constitution. Ensnaring laws *may* be made, or the laws we have for securing
‘ our

pation of the Commons, that they displayed, at least, their moderation, in limiting their own extension

our liberties *may* be repealed or suspended, without a corrupt man's being sensible, that he is thereby exposing his own estate to the precarious tenure of arbitrary power. Under colour of a sham plot, or a pretended disaffection, the Habeas Corpus act, that corner stone of our liberties, *may* be suspended for a twelvemonth, and under the same pretence, that suspension may be renewed for another, and a third twelvemonth, till at last the annual suspension of that salutary law may go as glibly down, as the Mutiny or Malt-Tax Bill now does; for when these two bills were first introduced, no man supposed, they would ever become bills of course, to be passed without opposition in every succeeding session of Parliament.

The keeping up a standing army in this island in time of peace, was always till the Revolution deemed inconsistent with our constitution. Since that time, indeed, we have always thought, that the keeping up a small number of regular troops is necessary for preserving our constitution, or, at least, the present establishment. How far this may be right, I shall not pretend to determine; but I must observe, that the famous scheme for overturning our constitution, which was published in the year 1629, required but 3000 foot for this purpose. And, if king Charles the First had, in the year 1641, been provided with such a number of regular troops, upon whom he might have depended for overawing the mob of the city of London, his fate, I believe, would have been very different from what it was. I am very far from thinking that such a very small number, even now our people are so much disused to arms, would be sufficient for overturning our constitution. But there is a certain number, which would be infallibly sufficient for this purpose, and it is not easy to determine how near we may now be come to that number.

tension of their own power to the period of seven years. The excuse is good, and ought to be admitted.

number. Now *suppose*, we are come within 2 or 3000 of that number, and that a minister, in order to render his success against our constitution infallible, should upon some specious pretence or other, desire the Parliament to consent to an augmentation of 2 or 3000 men to our army; can we suppose, that such a small augmentation upon a plausible pretence, would be refused by a parliament chiefly composed of officers and placemen? Can we suppose, that any man would risk his losing a lucrative employment, by voting against such a small augmentation?

This, Sir, must convince every true lover of liberty, how necessary it is, that no member of this assembly, or, at least, as few as possible, should be under such a temptation. I shall grant, that in most things that come before this house, some of our members may have a private interest in opposing or agreeing to it. But as long as this private interest does not proceed from the favours they enjoy, or expect from the crown, it can never injure the public good; because, if some have a private interest in opposing, others will have a private interest in agreeing to what is proposed, and those whose private interest is no way concerned, will always cast the balance in favour of the public good. The granting of money is the only case, where we can suppose the members generally engaged by their private interest, to oppose what is necessary for the public service. But this interest is so small with regard to each particular member, that it can never be of any weight. This is demonstrated, Sir, from the whole course of our history: for I defy any man to give me an instance, where the Parliament denied granting what was necessary for the public service, unless they were denied justice with regard to the redress of grievances, or unless they had

admitted. They had, doubtless, an equal right to have made themselves perpetual or even hereditary.

had well-grounded apprehensions that the money would be misapplied. But let us see, Sir, how this argument will stand upon the other side of the question. It is certain, that the Parliament ought never to grant more than is absolutely necessary for the public service. It is likewise certain, that we never ought to grant even what is necessary, till all grievances be redressed, and our former grants regularly and strictly accounted for. This is our duty as members of this House. But shall we perform this duty, if a majority of us be greatly concerned in interest to neglect it? And this will always be the case, if a majority of us hold, or expect, some lucrative office or employment at the pleasure of the crown: because it will always be the interest of ministers, and even their safety may be sometimes concerned, in our not performing this duty. Suppose, they ask from Parliament 500,000*l.* or a million, for carrying on some whimsical, perhaps pernicious scheme of their own; will a member of this House, who is to pay for his share not above 50*l.* of this sum, refuse granting it, when he is to get, or hold 500*l.* or 1000*l.* a year by consenting to the grant? Will a member of this house insist upon first redressing a grievance, by which he suffers little, perhaps no sensible prejudice, when he is to get or hold 2 or 300*l.* a year by letting it remain? And, finally, Sir, will a member of this house call ministers to a strict account, by which he can never expect to put a farthing into his own pocket, when, by neglecting to do so, he may get or hold a good post or employment, and perhaps preserve a round sum which he himself has purloined from the public?

Sir, I was sorry to hear a young gentleman talk so much of men's private passions and affections, and of every man's having

ditary. But the reason of their *moderation* it might not, perhaps, be difficult to assign. There

is

ing a view to the service of some favourite private passion, in every vote he gave in Parliament or at elections. I hope the case is far otherwise; but if it is not, we ought to endeavour to make it so, by putting it out of the power (at least as far as we can by such laws as this) of any man to serve himself, by his way of voting in Parliament and at elections, any farther than may result to him from the general good of his country. If we can do this; if we can put it out of the power of the selfish and mercenary to sell their votes in Parliament, no man will purchase a seat there at any high price, and this will of course put an end to bribery and corruption at elections. For no mercenary soul will purchase what he cannot sell, and those who are prompted by their ambition to purchase, will never go to any high price, nor will they submit to be the slaves of a minister after they have purchased. Even ministers themselves would cease their bribery at elections, because they could not depend upon having their candidate's vote in Parliament, if he had no lucrative office depending upon his voting always with the minister: and if the flood-gates of the treasury were not opened at any election, I am convinced, we should soon have little or no bribery in the kingdom.

Whilst there are purchasers, Sir, there will be sellers. I am afraid, there are at present too many of both. But if you can make it worth no man's while to purchase, you will put an end to the traffick: and this is the design of the bill now proposed. I have shewn, that if you do not agree to it, there will be, there must be, a corrupt dependency in Parliament; that by such a dependency, our constitution may be overturned, without a compulsive dependency; and that the latter may be made use of by an arbitrary government, and certainly will be made use of,

is an ultimate point of human sufferance, from which the potentates of the earth are known to shrink

as soon as it becomes necessary for the support of it's arbitrary power. Upon this side, Sir, the danger is certain and inevitable. Let, us, then, consider the danger pretended to be on the other. If we exclude officers, or the greatest part of them, from having seats in this house, it is said, it will introduce anarchy and confusion, because it will be impossible to govern such a numerous assembly as this, without a power in the crown to reward those who appear zealous in it's service: and that, as soon as this impossibility is perceived, all our officers, civil and military, will join with the crown in laying aside the use of Parliaments.

What the honourable Gentleman may mean, Sir, by *governing* such a numerous assembly, I do not know. But according to the common acceptation of the word, I should be sorry to see it in the power of ministers to *govern* either house of Parliament by any other method, than of convincing the majority, that nothing is proposed or intended, but what is for the public good. For if either house were to be governed by the hopes of reward, I am sure it could be of no service to the people, and of very little even to the crown itself; because the design and use of Parliaments is, that they may be a check upon the conduct of ministers; and no man, whose behaviour in this house is governed by his hopes of reward, will ever set himself up as a check upon the conduct of those, who alone can bestow the reward he expects. We must, therefore, suppose, that ministers may prevail with a majority of this house to approve or agree to what appears to be for the public service, without having it in their power to give a title, post, or pension, to every one that approves of their measures; or otherwise we must conclude, that no such house ought to exist, and, consequently, that the very form of a limited government ought to be abolished in this self-

ish

shrink back with instinctive horror, and beyond which despotism itself dares not to proceed.

When

ish and corrupt nation. What effect some late corrupt practices may have had upon the genius and morals of the lower sort of people, I do not know; but, I hope, they have as yet had little or no effect upon the generality of those, that have any chance of being members of this house; and unless they are become very degenerated, we must from experience conclude, that, when our ministers pursue popular and right measures, they may depend upon the assistance and approbation of parliament. This, I say, we must from experience conclude. For in former ages our ministers had but few rewards to bestow, and yet they never failed of having the parliament's approbation, when their measures were such as were agreeable to the people. Nay, from the very nature of the case, we must draw the same conclusion. For a house of Commons freely chosen by the people, must approve of what the people approves of. If from selfish motives they should disapprove or oppose such measures, the opposing members would be sure of being turned out at the next election: and as the king has it in his power to bring on a new election whenever he pleases, his ministers may easily get rid of such selfish, mean-spirited members, and may, consequently, if they desire it, always have a parliament generally composed of gentlemen of true honor and public spirit. But the contrary is what most ministers desire, as has of late been manifest from the characters of those who were generally set up as candidates upon the court interest.

We can never, therefore, be in danger of anarchy and confusion from its not being in the power of a minister to bribe a majority of this house into his measures; nor can we suppose, that the people will rechoose a majority of those who have in a former session opposed what was agreeable to the greatest part of their

When this point is once past, the complexion of mankind is observed to undergo a sudden change, and

their constituents. But when bribery and corrupt motives prevail within doors, they will certainly prevail without, and *then* we may see a member burnt in effigy one year in the public streets of his borough, and rechosen the year following as their representative in a new parliament. We may see the most notorious fraudulent practices carried on by the underlings in power, and those underlings encouraged by the minister, and protected by a majority in parliament. We may see the most unpopular and destructive measures pursued by our ministers, and all approved, nay applauded, by Parliament. These things we may see, Sir: These things we have seen within these last twenty years; and these things have brought our affairs both at home and abroad into the melancholy situation which is now acknowledged by all, and will soon, I fear, be severely felt by the whole nation.

If the present distress of our domestic affairs were a secret, I should avoid mentioning it as much as any gentleman whatever. But, alas! it is no secret either to our enemies or friends: and this makes the former despise us, and the latter shy of entering into any engagements with us. We may threaten, but our enemies know, we are unable to carry our threats into execution. We may promise, but our friends know, we are unable to perform our engagements. This knowledge has made those who are the professed enemies of public liberty, more daring in their attempts, and, I am afraid, it will render it impossible to form any confederacy sufficient for defeating their present ambitious projects. And it is so evident, that this misfortune has been brought upon us and Europe by our bad oeconomy at home, and our wicked, wrong-headed, or pusillanimous conduct abroad, that I am surprised to hear the contrary asserted now, when

and by an instantaneous transformation the extreme of happiness to rise out of the extreme of misery.

when the fatal consequences of our conduct are become so glaring.

[Here Lord Strange proceeds to shew, that the various broils in which the nation had of late years been involved, might all be traced to ministers, and pensioned members of parliament. To the same origin he refers the king of Prussia's invasion of — Silesia, and the murderous and unprincipled wars, which were at that time desolating the face of Europe. He concludes thus.]

It is therefore evident, Sir, that not only the present distresses of this nation, but all the distresses and confusion in which Europe is at present involved, are owing to the late measures of our administration: and though the consequences were not, perhaps, so visible as they are at present, yet it cannot be said, they were not foretold. For what we now see has been often foretold both within doors and without, and appeared manifest to a great majority of the nation, though to our great misfortune, it never appeared so to a majority of this house, which I am not at all surprized at, considering the great number of placemen and expectants we had always in this assembly. That any of those placemen or expectants were wilfully blind, I shall not pretend to say. I do believe, that many were imposed on by the specious pretences made use of upon each respective occasion; and I the rather believe so, because I know how easy it is to impose upon men, when their own private interest is made the harbinger of the deceit. But the misfortune we now labour-under, and the evidence from whence those misfortunes have all proceeded, ought to be a prevailing argument with us, to prevent any public deceits being hereafter introduced into this house by the same sort of gentleman-usurper. That this bill will be altogether effectual for this purpose, is what I shall not pretend to assert; but I am convinced it will

misery. The Commons were not ignorant of this truth, and they were unwilling to hazard the practical illustration of it. Of the two other Bills the one is fallen into total disuse, and the other is most shamefully evaded by a stratagem, which is at once an outrage on our feelings, and a mockery of our understandings. Yes, true it is, that the three most important of those popular advantages, which alone make the Revolution a just object of reverence to Englishmen, are already departed, though we still allow ourselves to be deluded by names, and are still willing to persuade ourselves, that we are in full possession of those benefits, which we have long ago tamely

‘ have some effect: and as it is the best remedy I can think of at present, I am therefore for agreeing to the motion.’

Mr. Burgh in the 2d vol. of his Political Disquisitions, observes upon this speech, that the arguments contained in it against Placemen and Pensioners being members of Parliament, were by the following speech confirmed and illustrated. “ *For in it,*” says he, “ we see Mr. Sandys (lately made Chancellor of the Exchequer) “ opposing the very bill, which he himself was once concerned “ in bringing in!”

What makes all doctrines plain and clear?

About two hundred pounds a year.

And these, which were full plain before,

Obscure again? Two hundred more.

Hud.

Money is become more plentiful, or integrity more costly, since the days of Butler.

surrendered,

surrendered, as of light and trivial estimation, though our ancestors were content to purchase them with their blood.

If liberty be indeed that tender and sickly plant, which it is said to be, it must require continual care, and the conspiring aid of a genial climate, to rear it into maturity. It may be nipped by the chilling frost of open violence, but is more liable to be blasted by the 'deadly mildews' of a circuitous and qualifying despotism. But slavery is the produce of every soil. Under every climate it grows without cultivation, and flourishes without danger of decay. Hence it is our duty to watch over the former with a careful and suspicious eye, to foster, and to cherish it, to water it, and to fence it in against the inroads of all who are not concerned in its preservation. Equally, too, it is our duty to prevent the latter from taking root amongst us, or if it has taken root, to eradicate the pestilential weed, and to sweep it from the face of our earth.

Though the merits of William are spread over a very wide and extensive surface, yet the shades of his character succeed each other by such easy gradation, that there is little apparent diversity in its complexion. And why? His motives were generally directed towards the same end, however

the means might differ which he employed for the attainment of it. The same principle which incited him to the enfranchisement of Holland, caused him also to restore the liberties of these kingdoms, and to support the general independency of Europe. In whatever light we distinctly consider him, whether as the more limited patriot of his own country, the auspicious deliverer of England, or the ultimate arbiter of European dissension, we shall find him in each capacity sustaining a part, to the perfection of which the united prowess of Greece and Rome, the collective hardihood of all antiquity, had in vain aspired. Cato supported for a while the tottering cause of his country's liberty, but was unable to preserve it. The attempt of Cicero was the same, and his success equal. Each fell, a lamentable instance of political martyrdom, the one by the hand of the assassin, the other by his own. William differed from them both, and preserved his own life together with the liberty of his country*. The Spartan general, who undertook the deliverance of Carthage, rescued it, indeed, from the danger which menaced it's immediate destruction, but

* Hunc volo, laudari qui sine morte potest.

MART. Lib. 1.

could not fortify it against the future effects of Roman jealousy. A better fortune attended William in his deliverance of our ancestors; he successfully established their present, and wisely provided for their future security. The monarch of Macedon, whose name stands foremost in the bloody catalogue of warriors, received tribute from almost every people of, what he thought, the universe. But this was not the tribute of gratitude paid by the sons of independence for the maintenance of their rights. No: it was rather the tribute, which slavery was content to pay for the privation of them. William was mightier than he, when, able to ensure victory whichever way he should incline, he required no other return of the enfranchised nations, than that they should themselves maintain the freedom of which he had put them in possession.

The private character of William was marked by simplicity and sincerity, and a warmth of attachment rarely discernible in kings. Though silent, thoughtful, and reserved, he possessed an active and a piercing genius, and was a proficient in various branches of literature. Firm to his purpose, and sanguine in disposition, no undertaking was too mighty for his ambition, no object too remote for his grasp. The fervid glow of imagination prompted

prompted him often to overleap those mounds, which were vainly interposed to his arduous projects by a timorous and frigid prudence. To his appetite difficulty was the provocative, and peril the food. He was not content with seeking Fame in her accustomed habitations, and her ordinary haunts; he would pursue her with ardour, where-soever she might be found, whether through the perplexing labyrinths of negotiation, or the ' secret places' of the cabinet, or the dreary marches of a toilsome and laborious campaign, even to the confines of her inaccessible retreats, to the precincts of her chosen and peculiar temple. View him, then, in his civil and military capacities; in this we shall find him a warrior with humanity, in that a politician without duplicity. In the inferior, but conciliatory, attributes of affability and address, he was somewhat defective, and he appears the more so, in proportion as he is contrasted with his accomplished rival of France. He was generally supposed, and more especially in his latter days, to be of a gloomy, phlegmatic temper; and, indeed, the behaviour of his Commons, after all his splendid and substantial services to the people, may very naturally be conceived to have overcast his enjoyments with some unwelcome reflections. Far be it from me to arraign

arraign that jealousy, which it is alike the right and the duty of the Commons to exercise over the worst, and even the best, of princes. Yet, perhaps, in their treatment of William, they sometimes suffered this virtue to degenerate into an appearance, at least, of undeserved and provoking rigour.

It has been the lot of some men, singly to gratify their ambition; of others, singly to contribute to the deliverance of their country. But for William III. was reserved the peculiar felicity of displaying in his own person the union of these merits, of being at once the instrument of deliverance to a great nation, and to himself of his own glory.

In the contemplation of a character like this, enthusiasm is a virtue. When I view a man imperiously disdaining the control of circumstance, and, in despite of every obstacle, summoning into action the whole force of his collected faculties to propagate and to encourage the celestial spirit of liberty, I look with a mixture of pity and contempt upon the giddy applause bestowed on the unworthy projects of ordinary power, and all the airy, fantastic, visions which the dreams of vulgar ambition have conjured before my eyes, straightway vanish from my sight, and fade into annihilation. How much the rather, then, when I feel myself

myself reaping at the very moment of time the benefit of those actions, which even abstractedly commanded my admiration? This benefit we all reap, even now we reap it, from him, who is the subject of eulogy this day. It belongs to us, to be careful how we lightly squander away that portion of freedom, which still continues to be derived from the Revolution. We have in theory a Constitution, which, though like other human inventions, it be in some respects imperfect, is yet, if faithfully administered, capable in the whole to produce the great end of national happiness. But let us not be content with a constitution in theory. It must not only be a visible, but a tangible Constitution. It must be a Constitution that is felt, as well as seen. It must be a Constitution in practice. Farthermore, we must improve in it that which is defective and remains, we must restore that which was valuable and is lost.

The fabric of our *real* Constitution is that of a temple situated on an eminence. The access is gradual, the descent precipitate. Our fathers built it with their own hands, and cemented it with their own blood. Let not us their descendants, who have but a life-property in the beautiful edifice, injure our posterity by despoiling it

it of any part of its riches, or by neglecting to repair and to preserve it. Whilst Liberty continues to animate our worship, we will defy the malice of the worst tyrant, which the worst ages may produce, to undermine the pillars which support it. But, as soon as our devotion shall begin to slumber, as soon as we shall rob of her accustomed honors the tutelary Goddess of the glorious sanctuary, as soon as we shall fall down to the golden image of the Mammon of corruption, and croud around the altars which the priests of despotism shall set up, as places of refuge to a deluded train of fanatic idolaters, then is the fabric of liberty disjointed, and already does it totter to its foundation. The feeblest arm that ever wielded the rod of oppression, may be lifted up to accelerate its destruction. The weakest tyrant may insult its fall. The meanest minion of tyranny may trample in triumph upon its ruins.

We have to thank God and our ancestors, (the former having given us our powers, the latter an example in the use of them) that our liberties are not now dependent on the precarious will of any individual, but on our own rights supported by our own exertions—that, unless ourselves be accessaries, they can neither be wrested from us by the peremptory insolence of a tyrant, nor decoyed
 away

away by the meretricious blandishments of aristocratical sorcery, nor yet juggled from us by the insidious and fraudulent manœuvres of ministerial legerdemain. The lure of riches and preferment may be displayed with effect to the base and menial parasites of a court-favourite, the scavengers of corruption, a class of beings patient of domination, solicitous of infamy, and whom nature did not condescend to qualify for the luxury of independence. It may prevail on such flagitious caitiffs as these to barter their freedom and their suffrages for the pitiful gleanings of dishonor. It may induce such unhallowed miscreants, when they have received the price of their departed integrity, to obliterate the unwelcome memory of it's possession, by teaching their posterity, that the wages of venality were ever their exclusive and inalienable birthright. But every true Briton will scorn to 'truck and huckster' for those only commodities of price, his mental and his personal freedom, and will look with abhorrence on the miserable offals of slavery, and the sordid pittance of their prostitute services. Whilst such shall still be the sentiments of the wise and of the good, no zealot in the cause of oriental servitude, no arrogant and contumelious engrosser of delegated power, shall dare to practise the treacherous arts of
a general

a general corruption, but shall content himself with the limited prospect of partial depravity. It is our happiness, that such men can now only speculate upon the glorious doctrine of passive obedience, and that they can feast their imaginations alone upon the enrapturing tenets of non-resistance. The only passive obedience now known to us, is that which we pay to our country's laws. Wherefore? "*Legum idcirco servi sumus, ut possimus esse liberi.*"

Let us, then, ever keep alive the sacred spirit of immortal freedom; and, above all, let us preserve a severe and wakeful eye upon the separate functions of our triple estate, and often call back our government (according to a precept of Machiavel) to its first seminal principles, lest, having unlearned the constituent parts of our establishment, we seek in vain to revive them; lest, in some disastrous crisis, we should suddenly be found, as the French lately found themselves, destitute of any Constitution at all, and should meet with no clue at hand to guide our bewildered imaginations through the intricate mazes of forlorn inquiry in search of a Constitution.

The mention of the French is at this time peculiarly connected with the subject of national revolutions. And who, indeed, that should see
a people

a people rearing their trampled heads from under the heel of oppression, and snapping asunder the iron manacles of tyranny and vassalage; who, that should behold them, as it were by some convulsive impulse, suddenly starting into action out of the profoundest lethargy, demolishing the strong holds of despotism, and calling forth from the noxious womb of misery and darkness, the imprisoned relics of humanity; who, I say, that should view this race of recent freemen achieving such deeds of glory, would not even wander, were it necessary, from his immediate way, and stay a while to refresh his spirit with such a banquet, ere he arrived at the conclusion of his journey? Liberty has begun her progress, and hope tells us, that she has only begun. She has already unveiled the charms of her august countenance to the fortunate inhabitants of the western world; she is now combining in glorious concert the Polish king with the Polish people*, and re-kindling in the

* The effect of this combination has been suddenly and wickedly retarded by causes, which I need not enumerate, and by personages, who in the page of impartial history will, I trust, be consigned to the scorn and execration of the latest ages. But what, alas! is the fickleness of men and of nations, of men who are reputed wise, and of nations which call themselves free? Dumb amidst the groans and sufferings

the breasts of modern Gauls an emulation of their free and hardy progenitors. Soon will she deign to visit the Spaniard and the Hollander, the Prussian and the Swede, the German and the Turk, nor shall the sovereign of all the Russias be able to prevail against her. No longer then, as before,

sufferings of the Polanders, dumb is that eloquence, which chanted the praises of their rising freedom in a tone of proud and virtuous exultation! Torpid is that philanthropy, which caught, indeed, the alarm at the first approach of danger to this most distressed and most injured people, but is now content to look on with calm indifference, or with transient and inactive sympathy, when tyrants have proceeded to execute what they had purposed, to justify what they have executed, and by this most unexampled act of justification to avow a principle, which menaces the independence of every government, and the tranquillity of every people, in the whole civilized world! After all, men are to be found, by whom the blame of inconsistency, for departing from a good principle, will be patiently endured for the praise of consistency, in adhering to an opposite and a bad principle. The persecutors of France may shock, but cannot surprise us, when we see them in the space of one revolving year the advocates and the deserters of Poland. Of such men we may allow, that their *real* opinions are displayed to advantage by their extravagance, by their vindication of every barbarous severity, which kings inflict upon multitudes, and by their toleration of every outrage, which lawless despots commit against lawful kings.

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shall

shall it be asked by the oppressed vassal of a lawless despot, in what towardly and pregnant soil is liberty to be found, and where has she fixed the seat of her heavenly habitation? Dwells she on the delighted summits of the Scythian hills, fencings by the frosty ramparts of her precipices the hardy mountaineer against the encroachments of restless ambition? or, does she love to traverse the sandy plain and the unmeasurable desert with the vagrant Arab? No longer shall the slave, who now sickens under the pressure of English barbarity, blasphemously punished for the intemperance of that blackening orb, near to which nature has planted him, forcibly torn by the most outrageous devices of a legalized piracy from the sweets of life, and from those social enjoyments which the God of benevolence has equally indulged to the sage and to the savage,—no longer shall he interrogate his lordly taskmaster, saying, “What is that freedom, of which ye Englishmen boast, and wherein does it consist?” No: The science of nature’s laws shall then be universally understood, purged from the unholy mysticisms of inequality, and disentangled from those odious chains, which artificial institution seeks to impose upon natural reason.

Before

Before the revolution, the governors of man had hood-winked man's reason. They had fixed a great gulph between themselves and us, lest our eyes should be impertinently curious, and should pry into the mysteries of cabinets. A plan was concerted between tyranny and ignorance for despoiling the face of nature, and dividing the plunder. It was a wise and a politic union. Information is the bane of despotism.

But, the day of delusion was already far spent. For even then, while tyrants were congratulating each other on the abasement of the creation, suddenly arose in the world an immortal race of philosophers, to set the spirit of liberty at work, and to frame and ratify opinions, which it has been beyond the reach of superstition to destroy, or of power to recal. Ye know, that I speak of Harrington, of Sidney, of Milton, and of Locke. These again have summoned into the field of reason a new and hardy band of proselytes, who are warring with time, and gaining the mastery over custom. Even now they are grappling with prejudice, and maintaining a glorious conflict with sentiments, which were too long suffered by the contempt of philosophy to make an unmolested progress, and to acquire by the aid of long usage

an influence with those minds, who think by tradition, and reason by authority. But, a copious infusion of that mild and temperate light, which at once illuminates and warms, has been poured in at the eye of the coming generation, and through that casement is communicating with practical vigour. It is rarifying and enlightening our intellectual spirits. It is almost inspiring with soul the objects of sense, and giving life and energy to matter. The old world, worn out with age and debility, is sinking fast to its decline, and the luminous orb of a regenerate creation is rising upon the view of the political observer.

My mind exults and glows within me, while I contemplate that auspicious day, when tyranny shall be laid low and mingle with the dust, when "all nations, and kindreds, and people" shall assemble together under the victorious banner of independence, and when the sun shall not shine upon any region under heaven, where it may not witness a harmony of desire, and a communion of the same generous and exalted spirit. Then, and not till then, may the world be allowed to forget, what it is to execrate the name of a tyrant, and to languish under the oppression of slavery. Whenever that day arrives, mankind will not fail with

one applauding voice to bestow their blessings on the memory of HIM, who laid the foundation of so good a work, by rescuing Holland from her foreign foe, by emancipating England from her domestic enemy, by labouring to preserve and to perpetuate the collective liberties of all Europe.

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No. XII.

Quid purè tranquillet?

Hor.

PERSENTIAT in se vir unusquisque necesse est, et ex aliorum tam dictis quàm factis animadvertat, humanæ industriæ primum id consilium esse, ut depellat malum, bonum adipiscatur. Hinc artes inventæ, hinc excultæ scientiæ, hinc leges sancitæ, hinc denique ipsa est orta humani generis societas. Ferum illum hominem, qui solitudines transatlanticas pererrat, gravissimâ cœli intemperie oppressum, et inter bestias periclitantem, suæ tamen felicitatis, non est, ubi immemorem deprehendas. Cùm sit artium ferè omnium, quæ vitam excultiorem reddunt, rudis et ignarus, illud tamen, quod est iisdem artibus propositum, probè intelligit. Imò ipsis iis bestiis, quibus agendi leges unica imponit, domina improbissima, voluntas, id constanter curæ est, ut quoquo modo degant beatè. Unius autem ho-

minis proprium est, uti gubernaculo rationis, cujus ope cursum dirigat, et quem velit portum, consequatur. Gravis itaque et libero viro apprimè digna est illa disquisitio, quæ doceat, quâ potissimum viâ e procellis vitæ elapsi in tuto collocemur.

Mirabile quidem primo aspectu videtur, quàm diversa a nobis instrumenta ad felicitatem comparandam admoveri soleant. Est verò illud mirabilius, quòd unus atque idem vir non diversis modò instrumentis utitur, verùm etiam contrariis, interque se pugnantibus. Quare frequenter cogitavi, beatorum animis, postquam in domum suam jam tandem pervolaverint, nihil eorum quæ in terris fiant, plus vel admirationis vel misericordiæ injicere, quàm impotentem eam solitudinem, quâ homines in felicitate captandâ dubii et improvidi anguntur. Voluptas, divitiæ, honores, fama, suas alternis vicibus habent illecebras, suamque in pectoribus nostris dominationem exercent. Vitæ autem curriculum a naturâ priùs circumscriptum est, quàm vel optatam metam assequi possumus, vel, etiamsi eam assecuti simus, pretium ipsius certaminis perquam inane esse tandem intelligamus. Fueritne hoc imbecillitatis nostrorum animorum, an pravitatis; Deusne in causâ, an homo; neque hujus loci est quærere, neque exitum forsanhabitura

habitura esset istiusmodi disputatio. Illud utilius est scire, sit necne aliqua norma vivendi, quæ felicitate, si minùs purâ illâ atque integrâ, maximâ tamen quæ mortalibus contingat, quomodò fruaris, doceat.

Fuit mihi primùm in animo, ut de tranquillitate, tanquam de felicitatis specie quâdam, agerem. Attentiùs verò hanc rem insipienti potior illa videtur ratio, felicitatem inter et tranquillitatem nullum omnino ponere discrimen, siquidem persuasum id habeam, neminem reverà felicem esse posse, nisi tranquillum, tranquillum neminem, nisi felicem.

Nec verò opinioni huic meæ jure objici potest, hominem in negotiis versatum, etsi minùs sit tranquillus, non rarò feliciorem esse, quàm sit is, qui in otio versetur. Profectò, tranquillitas non corporis est, sed animi. Animus autem non tunc, ut videtur, tranquillus dici potest, cùm inertia torpeat, cùm studiis expeditus sit, cùm negotiis vacet; sed cùm ad eam rem, quam agat, sine solitudine incumbat, suisque sibi viribus sufficiat, et de nihilo, quod sit extrinsecùs situm, laboret.

Quoties mecum reputo, quâ lege bonum atque malum homines sortiantur, reperio sanè nobis datum esse, multis quidem frui, multa autem et pati.

pati. Quamvis ab unoquoque orbem hunc mundi incolentium perconteris, quotum quemque invenieris, cui nihil sit, quod ulterius cupiat? Permultos tamen esse quotidie audimus, quibus mors sibi conscita nil relictum fuisse, quod ulterius sperarent, satis delectaret. Itaque in hac vita ut ab omni parte beati simus, negatum videtur; ut ab omni parte miseri, id verò propemodum concessum. Cur homo tantum doloris percipiat, cur ex singulorum infelicitate consletur universa felicitas, cur, cum cætera rerum systemata non nisi ex perfectione infimarum partium perfecta fiant, immensa tamen illa orbis regendi ratio ut fiat perfecta, inferiores sui partes, quæ sint imperfectæ, postulet*—quæstiones hæc, vereor, ut ab ingenio humano solvi possint, neque scio an solutæ magni interessent. Atqui, quantacunque sit hominibus inter vivendum boni ac mali portio, non possum non putare, malum frequentius ab ipsis auctum esse, bonum ab ipsis diminutum. Persuasum mihi insuper est, si homines id perindè agerent, ut felices essent, atque id, ne sint, agunt, longè aliter, quod ad bonum malumque attingit, res humanas sese habituras esse. Enimverò plurimi ita vitam instituunt suam, ut iis nihil aliud dixeris

* Goldsmith.

fuisse

fuisse in deliciis, quàm ut, pretio ob stultitiam lato, liceret sibi tandem pænitere.

Sunt, qui felicitatem ponant in voluptatibus, quæ vulgò sensuum dicuntur: et e contrario sunt, qui in severâ gravitate Stoicorum. Harum autem opinionum quin falsa sit altera, nullus dubito; alteram ut credam esse veram, vix adducar.

II; quibus ex corporeâ voluptate derivatur felicitas, non satis videntur respexisse, quàm fluxa sit hæc voluptas et caduca, quàm longo tempore quæsita, brevi evanescat, quàm multo labore nata, facile intereat. Si eandem voluptatem iterùm deque novo resuscitare coneris, ubi tandem est ille sapor exquisitus? Quàm ipsa est sui dissimilis! quàm insulsa et languida! Vestigia rerum earum, a quibus maximam te voluptatem percepisse putaveris, ea si legere velis, obscura sunt et planè nulla. Nervus, qui primùm tactus insolito quodam sensu exultabat, momentum suum paulatim perdidit, sensimque factus remissior grato illò impetu prorsus destituitur.

Adde, quòd avida hæc voluptatis consecratio homines magis fortunæ obnoxios reddit, quòd, affectionibus animi in res externas infixis, ea, quæ tanto studio sequimur, mille casus continuò rapiunt. Posito autem, conditionibus haud iniquis vitam tibi institutam fuisse, et ex votis tuis ferè omnia

omnia cessisse, at istiusmodi tamen voluptatibus, præ ipsâ etiam intentione suâ, oritur aliquid incommodi. Usus enim harum acriorum voluptatum cæteris illis lenioribus, in quibus consecrandis vita humana præcipuè versatur, impedimento est.

Quin desine, O Voluptatis assecta, ignobile servitium perpeti, et rei, quæ ex manibus tuis jam jam elapsura est, perditè inhiare. Dea, quam colis, hinc, fateor, tibi ostentat amœnitatem Veris, illinc uberes maturosque Autumni fructus. At, " si me satis audias," neque vox illius blanda et canora aures tuas unquam deliniet, neque oculos nimium quantum præstringet formæ venustas et pulcritudo. Cave fructum arripias, quem decerpserit Voluptatis manus. Quod ea tibi poculum ad hauriendum ridens propinaverit, illud vel primoribus labris cave attingas. Deerit, mihi crede, rosis, quas carpsisti, brevi deerit suus ille color. Quæ tibi tenuem rationem saporum exigenti jucundè quondam et suaviter blandita est luxuries, mox delicatum fastidium, deinde cibi satietatem, cui ne varietas quidem occurrere poterit, tumultuanti stomacho injiciet. Carissimi illi, quibus flagrasti, amores aut sollicitam mentem tuam et anxiam habebunt, aut languidum te reddent, inertemque, et tibi inimicum. Ad molli-

tiem

tiem denique eam omnem, quam juvenis præsump-
sisti, ecquid est, quod accedere possit? Nihil, me
quidem iudice. Imò expectanda tibi potius est
cùm agrotatio in corpore, tum in animo gravis-
sima agritudo.

Age verò, hominis hujusce, antequàm id, quod
petat, consecutus fuerit, quæ tandem conditio sit,
contemplemur. Profectò, veheméntissimum in
eo videmus ardorem cupidinis, et laboriosum
felicitatis aucupium, et animi miseros quosdam
tumultus, qui ne id quidem diu efficere possunt,
ut eum ipsi surripiant sibi. At enim voti sui
compos est. Annon igitur felix habendus? Ne-
quaquam. Scilicet animum inter et corpus bel-
lum exoritur pertriste et diuturnum, lisdem ille
desideriis flagrat—hoc marcescit tædio et sati-
etate.

Gaudeant, per me licet, voluptarii viri, qui
sibi prætendunt Epicuri nomen. Verùm enim-
verò, ne id Epicuro ipsi culpæ detur, quod neque
ad laudandum, neque ad imitandum Epicuros
unquam ullâ in re proposuit*. Huic certè *ἐτα-*

* Οὔτοι ἐν λόγῳ τὸ τέλος ὑπάρχει, ἢ τὰς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἡδ-
ονὰς, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐν ἀπολαύσει μεμῆνας λόγους, ὡς τινες ἀγνοῦντες, καὶ
ὅχι ἐμολογούντες, ἢ κακῶς ἐκδιχόμενοι, νομίζουσιν· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς
κατὰ σῶμα, μὲν τε ταράττεσθαι κατὰ ψυχὴν, συνίροντες. Οὐ γὰρ πό-

quæ videbatur summum bonum. At non falsis boni illecebris delinitus in vino ille et lubricum voluptatibus tranquillitatem quærebat, sed in sapientiâ, sed in iustitiâ, sed in virtute. Non suos voluit videri eos, qui tanquam potci ex harâ prorupissent, sed qui e scholis prodissent optimis disciplinis informati. Quiescant itaque Manes Epicuri in eâ, quam vivus maxime amabat, pace. Desinant autem hî iactitare se ab Epicuro esse, qui neque id, quod scriptis docuisset, probe intellexerint, neque id, quod vitâ præstitisset, imitando expresserint.

ταὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ, ὅδ' ἀπολαύουσιν ἡννικῶν, ὅδ' ἰχθυῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι φέροι ποσειδάωνος τράπεζα, τοὶ ἡδὲ γὰρ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πῶσαι λαργέμεν, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐξερῶναι πάσης αἰρίσιν, καὶ θυγῆς, καὶ τὰς δόξας ἐκλάυνει, ἀφ' ἧν πλεῖστος τὰς ψυχὰς καταλαμβάνει δόρυτος.

Vid. Epistolam Epicuri ad Menoeceum—Lib. 10.

Diog. Laert. p. 791. Edit. Casaub.

Huc apprimè faciunt, quæ Cicero dicit in Oratione in L. Pisonem.

“Atque hoc quidem etiam isti tui dicunt voluptarii Græci, quos utinam ita audires, ut erant audiendi! nunquam te in tot flagitia ingurgitasses: verum audis in præsepibus, audis in stupris, audis in cibo et vino.”

* Confer nunc, Epicure noster, ex harâ producte, non ex scholâ, confer, si audes, absentiam tuam cum meâ.

Cic. Orat. in Luc. Pisonem.

At

At eccam tibi ex adversâ parte severam illam frontem ac tetricam ! Hæc enimverò Stoici est ; cujus a disciplinâ horæ cujusque experientia ; et ratio , et ipsa natura , plurimùm dissident . Effera quædam hujusce et *εὐδαιμονίας* virtus immunem se profitetur ab iis sensibus , qui in obcæcatos mortales dominantur , doctrinæque suæ vi satis munitam se prædicat contra miseras , quæ vitam cæteris reddunt ærumnosam et amaram . Aspernatur , meherculè , operosas illas præcipiendi formulas , et tardos demonstrandi circuitus , et subtiles ratiocinandi ambages . Quin præcipiti quodam itinere deferitur ad veritatem , et philosophiæ quasi compendio utitur . Quippe dolorem , pauperiem , amicorum jacturam , exilium , violentam necem , tollit e numero malorum novus hic felicitatis artifex . Medorum ac Persarum more , immutabile quoddam decretum promulgat , quo hæc omnia verat formidini esse , aut procellas aliquas in animo sapientis ciere . Stoicus igitur tranquillitatem in vacatione potius omnium affectuum , quàm in affectibus lenibus et temperatis , poni statuit ; medicorum sanè ritu , qui cùm cavere non possunt , sentiens ne doléas , id cavent , ne omninò sentias .

Sed ambigi æquissimè potest , quam tandem fidem dogmatum suorum Stoici ipsi sibi fecerint . Nam si persuasum habent , dolorem non malum esse,

esse, quid, quæso, opus est, ut hoc tam sedulò et tam crebrò affirmant? An id quoque affirmant, sapientiam, aut integram valetudinem, malum non esse? De his enim, inquit, inter homines convenit. Præclarè illud quidem, quanquam minùs stat a re Stoicorum, responsum est. Nam ex consensu hominum, non ex singulorum sententiis, boni ac mali fines statuendi sunt. Hi autem fines per omne ævum certi manserunt ac fixi. Quippe iisdem nunc sensibus utuntur homines, atque semper usi sunt; iidemque sunt igitur boni ac mali fines, quorum iudicium in ipsis sensibus est positum. Quoniam igitur inter homines convenit ex certis sapientiæ atque integræ valetudinis finibus, hæc mala non esse, eâque de causâ non sunt mala; pari modo, quum ex certo fine doloris convenit, hoc esse malum, eâ de causâ malum est. Vereor, ne in hoc laqueo Stoici semet irreti-erint!

Qui derepentè philosophus evadere velit, cum ingredi jubeo in scholam Stoicorum. Nempe illinc facillimum ad sapientiam patet iter, si modò laudet paupertatem dives, dolorem illæsus. Dicitur in molli lecto cubans, et "cute benè curatâ nitidus," dolori et paupertati facilè resistendum esse. Ipse interim "sum paulò infirmior, et unus multorum;" ignoscat igitur. At pauperis

est,

est, inquiet, ut sine invidiâ felix sit, sine custodiâ incolumis, sanus sine medicinâ. Mihi verò apparet, eam felicitatem non magnoperè invidendam esse, quam nemo invideat; eam incolumitatem vix dignam incolumitatis nomine, quæ non tanti sit, ut custodiam requirat; valetudinem denique eam minimè cuivis gratulandam, quæ si maximam partem medicinâ non indigeat, tamen, cum indiget, non habeat. Pauperem utique crediderim

Præcipuè sanum—nisi cum pituita molesta est.

Si quæstionem hanc diligentiùs investigemus, compertum fortassè habebimus, eos, qui felicitatem cum paupertate arctè conjunctam esse velint, non eandem vitæ conditionem intelligere, atque eos, qui miseras soleant et ærumnas pauperum deslere. Quæ autem ego eâ de re dixi, huc spectant: eum, qui unde benè vivat, habeat, non pauperem esse, qui non habeat, eundem esse miserum. Esse contra paupertatem ac dolorem, terribiles licèt visu formas, pro virili a nobis nitendum, id verò assentior: atque idem ego confirmo, hoc ipsum niti, summum in se completi dolorem.

Quod autem prædicant Stoici, unum sapientem beatum esse, non est, ut aliquantulum credam. Sit suus sapientiæ, non alienus honos. Ut id omittam, paucissimos, si res ita esset, fore beatos,

(quod contra voluit natura) cū paucissimi sapientes sint—at nonnullos vidi sapientiā eximie præditos, quos tamen minimè beatos esse penitūs perspectum est. Sin dixeris, in hāc ipsā re sapientes non fuisse, eò quòd dolorem animi perceperint, sublata illicò est omnis disceptatio, quoniam eam rem, quæ argumentis stabiliri debet, prius finisti.

Voluptas etiam, uti his placet, nullius pretii est. Sed quid tandem est voluptas? Nonne id omne, quo gaudemus? Gaudemus autem vitā. Contemnenda igitur et abjicienda est. At hæc est Deum increpantis vox importuna et impia. At hanc sententiam temerè et arroganter secutus Cato ille Uticensis mortem sibi conscivit*.

Equidem Stoicum istum non possum quin fatear me odisse et abominari: neque enim scio, utrū eum hominem, an belluam, dicam, in quo vix, aut ne vix quidem, ulla humanitatis vestigia prehenderim. Sunt tamen, qui illum magnā in

* Non possum a me impetrare, quin lectori meo hæc Polybii verba apponam, cū ad sententiam meam de morte Catonis confirmandam apprimè faciant. Οὐ γὰρ ἱλαττόν ἐστιν ἀγνίαις σημεῖον, τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῷ συνεδῶτα μοχθηρὸν προεξάγειν ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν, ποτὶ μὲν τὰς τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων ἀναστάσεις καταπληγόντα, ποτὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν κρατέωντες ἰξυσίαν, τοῦ παρὰ τὸ καθῆκοι φιλοζωνῆν.

Polyb., Excerpt. de virtutibus et vitiis—Lib. 28.

admiratione propterea habeant, quòd vitium fugere videatur, et stultitiâ carere. Sed, quod ad me attinet, minimè ego vel sodali vel amico usus eo fuerim, qui amare et dolere nesciêrit, qui nihil fecerit misericordiâ adductus, qui nunquam cujusquam delicto ignoverit, qui denique exciuserit auribus oculisque omnem suavitatem.

Sed jam satis de Stoico dictum arbitror, et fortassè nimium. Rariores enim sunt discipuli Zenonis, quàm qui sese appellant sectatores Epicuri. Verùm, necesse habui, ut ostenderem, immanitate illâ virtutis obtundi non posse animorum aciem, neque inter insanientis sapientiæ consultos ullum sibi locum felicitatem vindicâsse.

Ut virtutes ferè omnes in mediocritate quâdam positæ videntur, ita in rebus humanis solet esse medium quoddam (ut ita dicam) punctum, ultra quod citraque nequit ea, quâ de agitur, consistere felicitas. Quale autem illud punctum sit, in extremâ hujus orationis parte, quantum potero, edocebo. Stoici interea, et, qui vocantur, Epicurei, pervelim, meminerint, hos sinistrorsum, illos dextrorsum, ab eo, quod animum purè tranquillet, passibus ferè æquis abire.

Ab iis certè non rectè statuitur, qui felicitatem ex divitiis quærunt. Si enim in divitiis sita sit felicitas, quò ditior quisque fuerit, necesse est,

idem felicior sit. Sed rem aliter evenire abundè notum est. Rationes artificiosè necesse supervacaneum reor, cùm solido experientiæ testimonio uti possimus.

Quid autem de ambitione dicam, et honoribus, et famâ? Hæret profectò animus, et in partes nunc has, nunc illas, distrahitur. Eò tamen proclivior sum, ut credam in hisce rebus plus ærumnæ quàm felicitatis inesse. Dulcissima quidem res est bona fortuna. Sed in expectando, et in dubitando, et in fluctuatione spei, qualis et quanta solet esse anxietas! Qualis quantusque (id quod longè pejus est) frustrationis est dolor! Quid autem? Anne honos ipse (pone in manu esse) aut doloris potest hebetare aculeos, aut afferre secum voluptatem sinceram? Anne remedium aliquod tristitiæ, aut morbo admoveere medicinam? Anne contra vitæ calamitates, aut terrores mortis, nos munire?

Mihi quidem venit in mentem magni cujusdam viri, ex vicinâ regione orti, cui jam moribundo honores aliquos contulerat publica patriæ vox. “Eheu!” inquit, circumstantes amicos alloquens, “hæc omnia magnifica forsàn in hoc mundo sonent: Ego autem jam eo in alium, neque mecum hæc auferre possum, nec, si possem, illic in pretio forent.”

Quin

Quin successus ipsa lætitia brevi evanescit. In eos respicere citò desinimus, qui a nobis ponè relictì sunt. Nova ineuntur certamina, cum solitudinibus illa quidem novis conjuncta. Nam postquam semel nata est ambitio, nullam patitur mortem, nisi unà cum illo, quocum habitavit. Cùm immortalis anima ex corporis ergastulo liberata exultat, “ ridetque sui ludibria trunci,” tum demùm avolat mortalis ambitio; et memoria ejus in terris illicò periret, nisi propter splendida quædam vel stultitiæ vel furoris monumenta, quæ sapientior ætas, uti opinor, mox deleverit.

Quare insomnium quoddam est gloria, vel umbra potiùs insomnii, quam unaquæque aura popularis ad lubitum dissipat. Mortemne ipsam posse in eam valere non reformidas? En! dum adhuc vivis, famam tibi tuam hinc calumnia ludificatur, illinc opprimit atque obruit invidia. In ore posterorum versari quid tandem proderit, cùm ferreâ mortis necessitate nostræ aures obsurduerint? Quid imagines, quas oculi nostri nunquam viderint, per longa atria laureatas conspici? Quid attentissimas nostras cogitationes in eam rem abjicere, quæ omninò non futura est, donec e vitâ excesserimus? Quorsum igitur posterorum deliciæ vocabimur, cùm laus illa ad inferos nequeat pervenire? Equidem Anacreonta

magis laudaverim, vina, corollasque, et cætera quæ in mortuorum tumulos parari solebant, sibi jam vivo magnoperè flagitantem*.

Quæ a me in hoc loco dicta sunt, si maximam partem hominum spectas, sunt verissima. Vitæ quicquid est eorum, corpore et spiritu continentur; ut, cùm naturæ satis vixerint, gloriæ etiam satis vixisse eos existimem. Sed de vitâ, quæ vigeat memoriâ seculorum omnium, quam posteritas colet, quam ipsa æternitas semper tuebitur, de hâc, inquam, vitâ, quæ paucis contingere potest, quæstio omnis ad paucos pertinet.

Expetere autem, ut nomen nostrum immortale sit, nec, quapropter id fiat, curare, ea demum summa est dementia. Timocreontis itaque Rhodii† epitaphium non vehementer amo. ‘ Syco-

* Τροχὸς ἄρματος γὰρ οἶα,
Βιότος τρέχει κυλισθεῖς·
Ὀλίγη δὲ κισσόμεσθα
Κόνις, ὅσῳ λυθέντων.
Τί σι δὲ λίθον μυρίζεις,
Τί δὲ γῆ χεῖν μάταια;
Ἐμὲ μᾶλλον, ὥς ἐτι ζῶ,
Μύρισον, ῥόδοι· τί κρᾶτα
Πύκασον, κ. τ. λ.

Anacr. 8.

† Πολλὰ φαγὼν, καὶ πολλὰ πινὼν, καὶ πολλὰ κακ' εἰπὼν
Ἄνθρωπος, κῆμαί τιμοκρέων Ῥόδιος.

Epigr. Simonid.

“ phanta,

‘ phanta, aut scurra, satiricus, aut commissator, se-
 ‘ cum reputet, cùm corpus jam in sepulcro com-
 ‘ positum fuerit, anima autem in aliud quidpiam
 ‘ transiêrit, quanti futurum sit, quod apud poste-
 ‘ ros dicatur, neminem ubivis gentium lautius
 ‘ cænâsse, neminem amicos suos defricuisse feli-
 ‘ ciori procacitate, joco maligno ipsum facile
 ‘ omnes superâsse, neque unquam antea dormi-
 ‘ tum iisse, quàm terna jam pocula exhausisset?
 ‘ Hujusmodi tamen sunt mortuorum præconia,
 ‘ quæ plerumque decorant eos, qui inter homi-
 ‘ nes nonnullâ famâ et honore inclaruerunt *.’

Me autem judice, verum atque unicum oblecta-
 mentum, quod ex posteriorum benevolentia duci
 possit, ab illâ spe oriri debet, ut unâ cum nomi-
 nibus nostris vivant etiam virtutes, utque eos,
 quibus vivi prodesse non potuerimus, exemplo
 nostro doceamus, nostrisque, ut ipsi laudari me-
 reantur, incitemus laudibus.

Quòd si ambitionem et famæ cupidinem, nullo
 habito vel rerum humanarum vel hominum ipso-
 rum discrimine, increpandas esse statuerem, pro-
 fectò dicerem contra naturam, contra veritatem,
 contra sensum bonorum omnium, contra illud
 nescio quid, quod in animo etiam meo jam inde a
 pueritiâ latuit. Etenim, si tot in patriam meam

* V. Spectator, No. 317. sub init.

et tanta commoda ex honesto famæ amore derivata fluxerint, puri necesse est fontes sint ipsi, e quibus rivuli sæpè puri emanarint.

Pone mihi illum senatorem, qui nihil unquam aut cogitaverit, aut dixerit, aut fecerit, nisi ad salutem patriæ dignitatemque respiciens; quem, mente solidâ invictâque in proposito permanentem, neque improborum exterruerint minæ, nec veteratorum istorum, qui potentiâ ad impotentiam utuntur, vis et violentia labefecerit; quem regis favor, levis ille, et inconstans, et populo semper inimicus, nunquam de recto cursu lenociniis allexerit; qui, vel invidis hominibus velificari, vel improbos in summo loco superbientes et immodicè ferocientes placare, turpe quiddam et libero homine indignum judicet; qui servire temporibus dedignetur; qui fortunæ nesciat succumbere; cui dedecus ipsâ morte magis extimescendum videatur; qui denique laudem toto pectore arripiens, temerariam tamen istam ac merè popularem valdè recusat, eamque solam anquirat, quæ rectè actorum se comitem et quasi ministram præbet.—Tali, fateor, senatore nec vidit sol quidquam in terris magis præclarum, neque in posterum videbit. Fecerit is, licebit, omnia quæ laudamus, fecerit, inquam, hortante ambitione. Sed talem ambitionem, ut quæ ingenuæ indolis et perfectioris naturæ sit, a viris bonis minimè repudiandam

diandam censeo. Flamma profectò est divinitus accensa, et quæ in optimis animis et ingenijs excelsissimis maximo ardore semper flagravit.

Quæ cum ita sint, jure vel optimo nomen beatorum occupabit, qui in eo gradu dignitatis est collocatus, eaque indole virtutis præditus, ut quamplurimis prodesse et possit et velit. Quò se cumque is verterit, in civium suorum felicitate, tanquam in speculo, videt suam. Videt famam suam omnem quibusdam constantiæ et benevolentiae radicibus inniti. Videt, post mortem fore, ut laborum suorum fructus uberes et diuturnos capiat. Potest quidem accidere, (optimos enim in cives ingrata nonnunquam patria est) ut senator ille, de quo dixi, habeat cur ploret cum Romulo et Baccho,

———— suis non respondere favorem

Quæsitum meritis————

Habebit tamen, habebit in sanctis animi recessibus, quò se recipiat contumeliis lacessitus et injuriis jactatus, ubi recreet semet ac reficiat, ubi abluat rerum externarum sordes, efficiatque, ut vitæ se neque pudeat neque tædeat.

Nunc cum iis loquendum, quibus unice in deliciis est "secretum iter, et fallentis semita vitæ." Eorum quidem hominum, quibus hæc vita cordi est, multa videntur genera. Omnibus autem, prout diversæ eos causæ ad hanc vitam amplectendam

tendam adduxerint, diversa erit felicitatis ratio. Non desunt, qui clarissimorum virorum vel præcepta vel exempla consilio huic suo prætendant. Ecquis enim est scriptor, qui non ruris tranquillitatem depinxerit? qui se lectoremque suum non oblectaverit concentu avium, et dulci ventorum strepitu, et rivulorum susurris, et spissâ nemorum umbrâ, et boum in valle pascentium mugitu? Ecquis etiam ingenio, aut rebus gestis inclytus, qui solitariæ sapientiæ ac tranquillæ dignitatis monumenta quædam præclara non reliquerit? Caveant tamen imitatores, ne “medio de fonte leporum amari aliquid” ex improvviso surgat. Etenim, si neque inter homines ipsos, nec studiorum, ad quæ incubuerunt, rationem, nec vitæ prioris colorem, ulla similitudo intercedat, fieri nequit, quin otii, ad quod se contulerint, dissimiles sint effectus.

Plerisque eorum, qui inter sylvas se velle reptare jactitant, vitæ suæ cursus neque in corporis labore, neque in animi contentione, versatus est. Enimverò nihil aliud sibi proponunt, quàm ut area adhuc latior in desidiam ipsorum pateat, et postquam publicè ineptiêrint, in umbrâ delitescant. Quid igitur mirum, si ne oscitantem quidem et dormitantem sapientiam secuti, sentiunt se languescere otio planè inutili, et celeriter redeunt

ad

ad eas, quas reliquerunt, nugas? Istiusmodi sanè ab hominibus non malè vivitur, quòd nati morientesque fallunt*.

Ii verò, qui vitæ molestias ac laborem pertæsi, qui onusti negotiorum mole, qui improborum hominum scelere et fraude lacesiti sunt, meritò quidem ac sapienter, quicquid sibi reliquum est temporis, in ruris tranquillitate conterunt. Hæc tamen cum concesserim, aliter puto statuendum esse de illis, quos avaritiâ, vel ambitione, vel alio quovis mentis morbo laborantes, spei malæ frustratio de vetere illo suo et diuturno cursu depulerit. Alios cùm oderint, vix sperandum est, ut ipsi se ament. Dolores eorum solitudinis fomentis mitigari non solent. Ut puer umbram suam effugere nequit, ita homines istiusmodi divitiarum et honorum vanas imagines ne in somniis quidem evitare possunt.

Rekursat protinùs animo noster ille Cowleius, quem, cùm ingenii tam limati tamque elegantis esset, sæpissimè dolui scientiæ dedisse, unde sui pæniteret, socordiæ et desidiæ, unde gloriarentur. Ab hujus enim exemplo tandem innotuit, ne studiis quidem doctrinæ et humanitatis ullum contra communes hominum errores præsidium inesse. At

* Nec vixit malè, qui natus moriensque fefellit.

HOR.

quid

quid te, O Cowleii, eò usque dementiæ impulsit, ut tantam illam animi vim, tot lepores et facetias, talem denique in labris sessitantem Suadam, in Americanorum angulos abdere et detrudere voleris? Nimirum, spes illæ tuæ quàm caducæ essent et fallaces, ipsâ experientiâ etiam domi comprobâsti. Quin patria te tua in complexu suo peramanter et percommode detinuit, ne in tenebras tua vel sepulta inertia, vel celata virtus, aliter ac deceret bonum sapientemque, retruderetur.

Detur mihi paulò jam liberiùs evaganti aliquantulum veniæ, si de mortalium consiliis, tam vagis tamque ineptis, vehementius, quàm fieri solet, in hoc ego loco conquestus sum et deploravi. Næ gravissimum in errorem is incidit, qui, mutato cælo, animum quoque cogitat se mutare posse. Quippe nulla loci mutatio, nisi eaq, quæ post mortem futura est, nulla, inquam, supercilio demet nubem, neque a corde dolorem eximet, nec lachrymas, quas in nostris acerbitatibus plurimas effundimus, ab oculis penitus abstergebit.

Aliud quoddam genus hominum est, qui rustici vocantur, et suo quodam jure vulgò putantur vitam agere tranquillam. Profecò, sors illorum, quæcumque demum fuerit, non tam voluntatis esse videtur, quàm fortunæ. Sed conditio sua
illis

illis utrū placuisse an contigisse dicatur, perinde est, modò sint felices. Hoc autem nomine vel in primis digni sunt, siquidem a paupertate et divitiis æquò intervallo distantes, neque harum solitudines, neque illius misérias et sordes, experiundo defleverunt.

O fortunatos illos et verè felices! qui scèdissimis urbium vitiis minimè imbuti, pristinam illam integritatem conservare nòrunt: qui delicato fastidio carentes, eo, quod naturæ satis est, cumulatissimè fruuntur: qui festis in diebus eò lætiùs indulgent genio suo, quò in profestis ad sua quisque opera diligentius incubuerint: qui longo usu edocti, intra frugalitatis fines se contineri haud molestè ferunt: qui solem vel orientem vel decedentem magno cum gaudio intuentur, tanquam quendam laborum suorum vel ducem vel finitorem auspiciatissimum: qui denique inter lares renidentes, et blanda oscula natorum, et conjugis amantissimæ officia, rectè simul et suaviter, quicquid est otii, conterunt.

At neque illud prætermittendum est, quòd vita hæcce agrestis multa adjumenta habet ad bonam valetudinem, quâ si quis caruerit, diu esse felix non poterit. Cùm fastidia labor improbus extuderit, facilè in stomacho rusticorum simplex esca sedet, nec relinquit post se nauseam, quæ comisatorum

satorum de cænâ dubiâ surgentium et animum et corpus debilitat. Adde, quòd voluptates agriculturalum habent rationem cum terrâ, " quæ nunquam" (ut cum Cicerone * loquar) " sine usurâ reddit, quod accepit."

Terræ autem ipsius vis ac natura quem non delectet? Irrigationibus porrò agrorum, et conditionibus arborum, et florum omnium venustate, quid potest esse vel usu uberius, vel aspectu pulcrius? Hinc desiderium, quod e filio capiebat Laërtes, colendis agris leniebat. Hinc purpurâ et ornatu regio splendescens, Cyrus ille minor, Lysandro Lacedæmonio ostendebat " directos in quincuncem ordines, et humum subactam a se " atque puram," et arbores suâ ipsius manu vel satas vel excultas. Quæ a me, Cicerone duce, in hoc loco memorata sunt, eò spectant, ut, agrestium vitâ vix ullam jucundiorẽ esse aut magis tranquillam, demonstrant.

Quòd siqui alii ex fallentis vitæ semitâ felicitatem haurire velint, næ ii potissimùm felicitate digni sunt, qui litteris sese tradiderunt. Eant igitur fausto pede, quâ studiis eorum obsecundet bonarum illa artium hortatrix, vita umbratilis,—quâ nullus civium improborum fremitus, nulla vis tyrannorum, nullæ, quas ambitio et amor

* De senectute.

nummi secum afferant, curæ, meditantibus iis fuerint impedimento,—quâ denique vel ad mores hominum describendos, vel ad contemplandam vim naturæ, liber et sui potens animus accesserit. Hinc

Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus.

Hinc in sinum suum Helveticus ager nuper recepit Gibbōnium nostrum, aut philosophiæ vacantem, aut ad historiam, lucem illam veritatis et magistræ vitæ, animum suum placidè sedatèque adjungentem.

Alma quidem illa Maia, et puro sole nitens, et herbescentem eliciens e seminibus viriditatem, et odorem, qui e floribus afflantur, suavitates undequaque spargens, non solùm pictori novas rerum imagines suppeditat, sed doctum quemque, et in contemplatione naturæ versatum, mirâ voluptate perfundit. Qui collegit se, et philosophari incepit, ei profectò nihil jucundius est, quàm stellarum sive fixarum cursus sempiternos, sive errantium progressionem institutionesque notare,—quàm, oriente jam sole, lumen ætheris purpureum, et occidente, varios ejusdem colores intueri,—quàm Lunam conspiceret, nunc per medium cœli iter pleno et radianti orbe leniter incedentem, nunc nebulosâ illâ indutam majestate, quam tantoperè

to perè admiratus est Miltonus, tamque ornate
splendidèque depinxit*.

Philosophis autem rurè degentibus dum tran-
quillitatem suam gratulor, eosne obliviscar, qui
in nostris his Athenis, quid verum et decens sit,

* Mihi semper in hoc genere admodum placuerunt vi-
vidæ illæ et venustæ imagines, quibus Lorenzo et suam
et Jessicæ suæ mentem convertit ad lenes aurarum susur-
ros, et lunæ in ripâ dormientis mite ac placidum jubar, et
sphærarum immortale melos, et "solum cæleste" hinc
et inde stellis ardentibus, tanquam vermiculata emblemata,
aptum et illuminatum. V. Shaksp. Merc. Ven. Act. 5.

The moon shines bright :—In such a night as this,
When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees,
And they did make no noise; in such a night; &c.

How sweet the moon-light sleeps upon this bank!

Here will we sit, and let the sounds of music

Creep in our ears; soft stillness, and the night,

Become the touches of sweet harmony.

Sit, Jessica: Look; how the floor of heaven

Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold;

There's not the smallest orb, which thou behold'st,

But in his motion like an angel sings,

Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims:

Such harmony is in immortal souls;

But, whilst this muddy vesture of decay

Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.

maxima

maximâ cogitationum intentione quærunt? Vetat
 jus fasque, vetat rei hujusce ratio, vetant denique
 mei ipsius in locum optimè de me meritum amor,
 officium, pietas. Egomet cùm fuerim in gremio
 hujusce Academiae bonis artibus et disciplinis in-
 stitutus; cùm vox hæc mea, qualiscumque fuerit,
 Academicorum horum meorum sit hortatu et præ-
 ceptis conformata; cùm magnum inter homines
 necessitudinis vinculum soleat esse, quòd iisdem
 studiis usi sint; cùm in hoc potissimùm loco mihi
 contigerit jucundissimas illas colere amicitias, quæ
 sermonum et morum suavitate conditæ, et summo
 concursu voluntatum et consiliorum firmatæ, men-
 tem sæpè meam tranquillârunt;—profectò, nec
 grati esset animi nec liberalis, si de vitâ, quæ sit
 maximè beata, agens, silentio eos præterirem, a
 quibus id acceperim, quo aliquâ ex parte egomet
 beatus esse possim.

Hæ sunt, hæ, inquam, dulces illæ et amænæ
 sedes, ubi aut molestis vitæ operosisque negotiis
 defessa, aut a libidinum vinculis laxata, aut nuga-
 rum satur, mens nostra sese colligit atque recreat.
 Huc discedentes vel ex forensi strepitu, vel ex
 turbâ et colluvione hominum aulicorum, vel ex
 repentinâ aliquâ vi et tempestate popularis peri-
 culi, securitatem illam maximè optatam et expe-
 ditam habemus. Hic moris est tempus matuti-

num ponere in acerrimâ atque attentissimâ cogitatione. Hic vim insitam ingenii promovent studia illa omnia, quæ vel reconditis in artibus, vel in hac suavitate politioris humanitatis versantur. Hic est otii verus ille fructus, qui ex remissione animi liberalissimè petendus est. Hic ad manum sunt bibliothecæ, quæ cùm libris optimis cumulatissimè instructæ sunt, tum nescio quomodo vel aspectu suo ad pulcherrimum quidque aggredendum erigunt nos impelluntque. Hic nostris oculis obversantur virorum et ingenio et doctrinâ clarissimorum imagines, exquisitissimè illæ quidem expressæ, neque solùm ad intuendum, verùm etiam ad imitandum, in propatulo nobis propositæ. Hæ sunt nostræ opes—hæc vel industriæ nostræ subsidia, vel incitamenta virtutis—hæc ad beatè et tranquillè vivendum tam lauta tamque copiosa instrumenta.

Etsi e litteris plurimum vel oblectationis vel solatii provenire fateor, minimè tamen contendo hisce angustiis felicitatem humanam contineri. Omnium ea temporum est et omnium locorum, modò animus nos æquus non deficiat, sitque imò in corde defixus virtutis amor. Nam si verum est, quod aiunt, "omne solum forti esse patriam," si "Ithacæ asperrimis in saxulis tanquam niduli positæ conspectum immortalitati anteposuit Ulys-

"ses*,"

“ses*,” potest illud, quod nos felices reddat, ipsis Ulubris inveniri.

In omni autem hâc oratione meâ mementote, qui hæc auditis, me, quoties sim de felicitate locutus, non de absolutâ aliquâ et perfectâ felicitate somniâsse, sed eam intelligere, quæ homini neque erroribus nec vitiis carenti detur. Habet utique has vices conditio mortalium, ut, in omni ætatis gradu, felicitati eorum semper aliquid desit. Juvenum animos ardentes alit incitatque spes, quæ etsi multa et præclara molitur, magnâ cum inscitiâ rerum conjuncta est, et perrarò ad exitus secundos pervenit. Suas porrò curas secum affert ætas robustior. Senectutem autem pauci agunt tolerabilem, eò quod difficiles nos atque inhumanos reddit, quod corpus facit infirmum, quod omnibus ferè voluptatibus privatur, et appropinquatione mortis acerbissimè angitur.

Hominem quidem ad felicitatem, quæ ex omni parte absoluta sit, natum non esse, mihi vel exinde constat, quod res ipsa animorum nostrorum caput superat. Si Tartarus nobis, aut alius quispiam ultimarum pœnarum locus, ad depingendum datur, mentibus statim nostris oboriuntur vividæ, pertristesque, et horrore plenissimæ, imagines malorum. Cœlestium vero beatitudinem quis dignè

scripserit? An magnificum tibi quiddam splendidumque videtur, Elysii poëtici pastoritia tranquillitas? An in Mohamedano Paradiso sensibus mortuorum honestiùs blandiuntur lasciva et mollia amoris gaudia? Hisce autem rerum ineptiis, et verborum cincinnis ac fucis, Religio Christiana penitus caret. Quam enim rem ne animo quidem complecti possumus, eam oratione consequi Christus haudquaquam conatus est. Hâc de causâ, præmia piorum non vivis pinguntur coloribus, non disertis verbis proponuntur, sed per quædam integumenta et involucra raptim et turbatè à nobis perspecta, præ ipsâ illâ obscuritate majorem sui admirationem habent.

Quare rem mihi totam perpendenti facilè apparet, meliùs cum hominibus actum fore, si felicitatem, ultra quod satis esset, sperare desinerent, si tranquillis potiùs ac lenibus, quàm vehementioribus ac turbulentis, voluptatibus frui vellent, si, quò plura fierent vitæ commoda, eò non crederent magis solida eadem futura esse et diuturniora.

Postulare jam videtur rei ipsius ratio, ut qualem ipse mihi tranquillitatem potissimùm exoptem, unde illa derivetur, et quomodò possit comparari, liberè et explicatè dicam.

Cùm ad familias veterum philosophorum respicio, neminem video, cujus in verba semper
jura-

juraverim. Nec tamen diffitebor, ab Epicuri vitâ, qualis a me antea est vel illustrata vel defensa, animum meum non prorsus abhorrere. At vitio mihi ne detur, si nonnullis in rebus id a me faciendum statuam, quod est ab Attico summâ cum laude factitatum, siquidem “ non minùs ille vir “ bonus paterfamiliâs habitus est, quàm civis.” [V. Corn. Nep. in vitâ Attici.]

Qui veram illam et directam rationem semper superare debere contendunt, propè jam soli in scholis sunt relictî. At voluptates omnes, quibus, salvâ dignitate, frui possem, eas nullo modo pueret interdum petere, et extremis, quod aiunt, digitis attingere. Neque in solitudine, neque in turbâ, diu degerem, quanquam aliquandò in utrâque. Quoties me ad negotium aliquod obeundum accingerem, neutiquam essem immemor aureoli illius præcepti, HOC AGE, quod inter Romanos, ut ferunt, iis qui sacra facerent, solenniter et more majorum dictabatur. Vitæ autem procellis vexatus, confugerem in portum, non desidiæ atque inertiae, sed otii moderati et honesti.

Quod autem præcipuè in votis habeo, illud est, ut quantulum in litteris proficere valuerim, quâ caritate patriam meam complexus sim, qualis sit de rebus vel politicis vel ad philosophiam moralem pertinentibus sententia et opinio mea, insigni aliquo

aliquo testimonio comprobare minimè detrectem. Nimirum, suæ sunt cuique occasiones in hoc genere aut scribendi, aut agendi, quas qui arripuerit, illum puto sui iudicii esse, et potius, quid se facere oporteat, intueri, quàm quid alii sint laudaturi. Nos autem, qui nunc sumus, annon in eam incidimus ætatem, quæ cùm multis et magnis eventibus plena extiterit, tum, ut mihi videtur, quodammodò foeta sit pluribus atque etiam majoribus? Hæc de causâ, materies et sylva suæ vel industriæ vel virtutis nemini poterit deesse. Profectò, in tantis opinionum ac rerum conversionibus vires latentis ingenii sese produnt, et ad præclara facinora accedere et aspirare audent. Qui igitur, quicquid in se est aut diligentia, aut doctrinæ, aut auctoritatis excellentis, aut gratiæ honestæ, id omne ad salutem innocentium, ad auxilium calamitosorum, ad civium suorum sive libertatem conservandam, sive famam defendendam, contulerit, is, fieri non potest, quin puræ atque integræ mentis conscientiam perfruatur.

Ipsa, meherculè, optimarum artium exercitatio ad tranquillandum animum vim habet permagnam. Quid enim dulcius est, aut laudabilius, quàm ut, quo tempore industriæ et ingenii fructus in usus tuos percipias, eodem te amicis civibusque tuis prodesse sentias? At verò, si quis liberum

rum: se felicemque idcirco judicat, quod nihil unquam agat, vel, ex iis quæ egerit, nihil ad aliorum commodum afferat, nã erroris illum sui et socordia citò pænitebit.

De vitæ ratione, quæ, cum neque labore, neque otio careat, mihi videtur maximè optanda; vereor ne jactantiùs, quàm oporteret, aut saltem verbosiùs dixerim. Ad alia igitur transeo, quæ ut aliquâ ex parte sint mea, vehementissimè spero. Sapienter nobiscum benevolèque egit natura, quæ, cum hominès vellet societate inter se conjunctos esse, tales animis nostris affectus inseverit, et voluptatis tot fontes nobis recluserit. Quid enim? Annon fæminæ castæ atque formosæ colloquium miras habet veneres, miram suavitatem? Annon aures nostræ aut conviciis violatæ, aut strepitu rerum defessæ, habent ubi conquiescant, in voce illius blandâ et canorâ? Annon etiam muta nos morbo languentes perofficiosè illa et peramanter reficit? Annon sermone et etiam aspectu suo id efficit, ut deformis ægrimonia sensim minuatur? Ego si talis fæminæ amore me affici negem, quàm id rectè faciam, viderint sapientiæ isti duri et difficiles magistri—sed certè mentiar. Quem enim ad rectè beatèque vivendum vel comitem, vel ducem, potiùs exoptarem, quàm mulierem tali ore et vultu, in quo acquiescere possem, egregiè præ-

ditam, tantâ morum comitate, tantâ indole virtutis?

Jam inter subsidia felicitatis, haud scio an locum ferè primum sibi vindicet amicitia. Quid enim jucundius aut præstantius est, quàm habere tecum, qui ridenti tibi arrideat, qui flenti adfleat, et cujus in sinu gravissima et secretissima tui peccatoris consilia tutò deponas? Scilicet et prosperas res lætiores amicus facit, et adversarum impetum consolando atque adjuvando levat.

At, meâ quidem sententiâ, longissimè a vitâ tranquillâ is abest, cui neque amoris neque amicitiae gaudia sors fortunaverit. Tarda ei tempora et ingrata, necesse est, fluant—graviori eum mole oppriment atque obruent curæ—quin brevi et tenui jucunditate ipsa voluptas eum afficiet—usu suo carebit pecunia—suo splendore et amplitudine honores destituentur.

Quicquid autem homini in vitâ agendum sit, primam rerum omnium is, oportet, virtutem colat, sine quâ nulla potest esse diuturna et vera felicitas. Hæc autem virtus ut sopita inersque jaceat, indoles ipsius omninò non patitur. Quid, quòd in hâc turbâ sæpe stultitiæ hominum et ineptiæ devorandæ sunt, quòd pericula subeunda, quòd cum sceleratorum civium importunitate et furore confligendum? Insidet in animis nostris, insidet,

insidet, inquam, magna quædam et præclara vis, quæ ad omnes labores exantlandos sese erigit, et, quò possit officio suo satisfacere, nervos omnes suos nunquam non intendit. Quin ipso illo in nisu triumphat mens nostra, vehementerque lætatur. Res autem ipsa cùm faustè atque auspicatò perfectà sit, quâ voluptate perfundimur? quibus gaudiis exultamus?

Religio, quæ tanquam delapsa de cælo est ad cognitionem rerum humanarum regulâ, opinioni huic meæ ne tantillùm quidem adversatur; imò, iterùm et sæpiùs docet nos, hanc rationis normam, hanc præscriptionem ipsius naturæ esse, ut, qui bonus esse velit, idem præ cæteris sit felix. Clamitent licet et desæviant monachorum greges, pietas nulla gravior est Deo, quàm honesta de numine ejus et mente opinio. Nullâ unquam re propiùs accedimus ad Dei perfectionem, quàm cùm volumus et possumus quamplurimis prodesse. Nihil plùs valet vel ad leniendos dolores, vel ad comparandam animi tranquillitatem, quàm vitæ benè actæ recordatio, cum spe æternorum præmiorum arctissimè conjuncta.

Quocumque in homine pietas sincera cum actuosâ illâ et indefessâ virtute sociata fuerit, omnia is habere debebit vel ad res prosperas subsidia, vel perfugia et solatia in adversis. Illum, mihi crede,

crede, nec tædio vita afficiet, nec veniens mors commovebit, aut instans jam præsensque perturbabit. Quid enim? Sui semper potens, et in se ipso totus, cupidinibus suis, quæ par est, respondere audet. Animum præ se altum erectumque nunquam non gerens, et in negotiis sine molestiâ versari novit, et in otio cum dignitate. Videt a se compressam fractamque audaciam sceleratorum, conservata atque amplificata bonorum jura, auctam denique et stabilitam humani generis felicitatem.

No. XIII.

ORATIO

PRO

ÆQUA LIBERTATE.

Pessimè enim vel naturâ vel legibus comparatum foret, si arguta servitus, libertas muta esset; et haberent tyranni, qui pro se dicerent, non haberent, qui tyrannos debellare possunt. Miserum esset, si hæc ipsa ratio, quo utimur Dei munere, non multò plura ad homines conservandos, liberandos, et, quantum natura fert, inter se æquandos, quàm ad opprimendos, et sub unius imperio malè per-
dendos, argumenta suppeditaret.

Milt. Defens. pro Populo Anglicano.

(18)

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No. XIII.

Utrum magnum imperium cum æquâ omnium libertate constare possit ?

EQUIDEM de re, quæ non nullius ponderis sit, paulò accuratiùs paulòque liberiùs cùm acturus sim, hoc tantummodò veniæ, Academici, vos posco, ut, quicquid sentiam, id sine invidiâ ullâ dicere mihi liceat; ne fortè, dum pro libertate contendo aliorum, amisisse videar ipse meam. Aliud cogitare, aliud scribere, sitne ejus, quem *prudentem* vulgò appellant, planè nescio: meum non est. Stare a sententiâ, quæ mihi rerum omnium momenta perpendenti se probaverit, id profectò ultimum, nec nisi cum animâ, relinquam. Sciatis igitur, pervelim, quicquid dixero, neque dicturum me esse, nisi senserim, neque, cùm senserim, non dicturum.

Breve illud præfari idcirco volui, ne subito clamoribus obtundar eorum, quos consuetudinis

æstus

æstus adeò absorbuerit, ut res quæ nunc sunt, eò quòd nunc sunt, admirentur, oderintque omnes, quibus foedum, si Diis placet, novitatis crimen inesse existiment. Quin his diebus benè novi assiduè circa nos volitare malignos quosdam homunciones, qui omne quicquid agimus, mendaces in tabulas referant, et vellicandi et rodendi occasiones sedulò arripiant. Nimirum, si opinionem suam de rebus politicis quispiam professus fuerit, idemque ab iis, quæ et aulici homines et plebecula pro veris habent, tantillùm discrepaverit, huic, tanquam infami, et turbulento, et flagitioso civi, qui istorum est pudor ac liberalitas, conviciantur. Sin juvenis idem sit *nitio fortunæ*, juventutem ei vel exprobrant, vel (quod longè intolerabilius est) misericordiam nescio quam arrogantiae suæ prætendunt, hoc scilicet sive solatii sive contumeliæ secum afferentes, prudentiam unà cum annis aliquandò affuturam. At quæ tandem est superbia eorum, qui eam cogitandi libertatem aliis invident, quâ ipsi nolint et planè nesciant uti? Nec mirum tamen, si homunculis, qui inter turpis lucelli spes vitam triverint, patriam suam quæstui habentibus, frequens in ore sit *imprudencia*; quâ quidem voce tetricâ et importunâ nihil aliud cordatior quisque intelligit, quàm firmam illam solidamque mentem, quæ sit *propositi sui tenax*, neque ullum vel simu-

landi

landi vel dissimulandi locum relinquat. Sed apage impotentem istam cum indoctorum hominum tum etiam invidorum garrulitatem! Quicquid mihi in fati fuerit vel facere vel pati, id saltem de me polliceri ausim, scædas me istiusmodi et horridulas calumnias nunquam non spreturum. Miserrimum profectò illum existimo, qui dum id, quod sibi honestum videatur, agat, de eo, quod insulsi obtrectatores temerè effutièrint, nimis angitur. Quòd si quis est, qui me de opinione civium meorum parum sollicitum esse arbitretur, nã is mentem meam, quæ sit, vel non intelligit, vel, si intelligit, pravè interpretatur. Famam enim a bonis reportatam nemo unquam bonus fastidiverit. Cujus quidem famæ ipse si appetentissimus fuerim, quò ex fonte haurienda sit, probè perspectum et exploratum habeo. Etenim in animum semper induxi, quò virtute et doctrinâ quisque instructior sit, eò magis eundem de voluntatibus hominum conciliandis, et in usus suos adjungendis, laborare. Hâc de causâ, nomen ego meum neutiquam soleo in his profiteri, qui occasionibus insidiantur, seque ad tempus flectunt, et potentiori cuique omnia omninò annuunt. Quin illud longè longèque malim, magna quædam et præclara et in animo altè infixâ principia complecti, quæ honestum deceant sapientemque, quæ sint omnibus et locis et temporibus

poribus accommodata, quæ denique nec flecti opinionum auris, neque impetu ipsius fortunæ debilitari et frangi possint.

Nostra autem ipsa quæstio, de industriâ illa quidem selecta, et ad explicandum nobis proposita a viris sapientiâ et gravitate eximiis, annon novitatem quandam sapit? Quoniam est enim nobis jam disquirendum, "utrûm magnum imperium cum æquâ omnium libertate constare possit," simile vero est, nullum tale imperium cum tali libertate, ne vestrâ quidem, Academici, sententiâ, adhuc constituisse. Valeant igitur et quiescant inveteratæ opiniones. Rem aggredimur non majorem, sit licet maxima, quàm novam. Novam enim quamlibet politiæ formam judico, quæ nondum, utcunque cognita theoreticis, innoverit experientiâ. Liber itaque disquirentis animus, libera sit ipsa disquisitio necesse est.

Plurimæ succurrunt causæ, cur a magno imperio hætenus absuerit juris æquabilitas. Nunquam variæ imperii partes satis arctâ compage conjunctæ sunt; non unâ potius victoriâ, quàm multis præliis, acquisitæ; non facilis consiliorum communicatio; non commoda mutua. Fuit aliis aliis morum habitus; sua unicuique disciplina; vitæ bona inter paucos divisa; nec minimum accedit, negatum unius linguæ commercium. Quin civitatibus

civitatibus nimis inolevit improba consuetudo, fines suos proferendi potius quam tutandi; unde in privatam dominationem cessit publica utilitas, et contemptui habita sunt æqualia jura civium, ubi nulla commodorum communio inter victores et victos intercessit.

Miror equidem, quod plures eorum, qui hanc rem pro virili tractaverunt, nimis id obliti videantur, quod ego caput et principium hujus quæstionis judico. A *libramento proprietatis** pendet, me judice, omnis omnino imperii natura, et libertatis istius, qualiscunque demum fuerit, modus.

Cogitantibus plerisque, quid sit id, quæ proprietas dicitur, et quo modo primum comparata sit, usitatum est casus et fortunæ quandam, ut ita dicam, solertiam admirari, quæ dividua illa universi laboris munera, sive is corporis fuerit, sive mentis, in arctissimas optumatum angustias soleat congregare. Mihi verò nunquam vehementer placuit; multum de fortunâ loqui. Isto enim vocabulo nihil hominibus rerum imperitis convenientius. Tribuimus fortunæ, quicquid, e quo fonte haustum sit, nescimus.

Nos facimus, fortuna; Deam, cæloque locamus.

* Si non proprietatis est quæstio, sed tantum possessionis. — QUINT.

Rem

Rem verò talem tantamque cùm ad rationis normam exigamus, absit profectò, ut istiusmodi perfugio utamur. Acervata igitur præter modum proprietas non casu, sed consultò fit; non fortunæ, sed legibus debetur. Terræ perpetua in usum hæredis addictio, et primo cuiusque nato partitæ cum minorum injuriâ opes, difficultatem hæcæ facillimè et plenissimè expediunt. Imperii autem ipsam originem si contemplemur, quibusque artibus eò magnitudinis sensim creverit unius hominis auctoritas, satis apparebit, quanto pere regentium interfuerit, has circa proprietatem leges tulisse; quo quidem posito, principium illud luce clarius fit, libramentum scilicet proprietatis imperii naturam sequi.

Principio antistites habiti, prout vel arte quivis vel naturâ pollebat. Soli vel sapientiæ, vel fortitudini, primæ delatæ sunt. Fore scilicet sperabant, hinc qui bello idonei essent, illinc paci. Utrobique bono publico consultum. Felicia, meherculè, et præclara fuerunt illa tempora, in quibus nullâ aliâ ratione utebantur homines, quàm quæ doceret, nihil inter homines interesse præter ingenium ac virtutem. Cùm duceis illius consilio et auctoritate amplius non opus esset, imperium deposuit, et quidam lubens. Quid enim? Id non amplius agebat, quod quò ageret, factus est dux. Progressu autem temporis, (siquidem mortalia omnia

omnia, quibus non perpetuò cavetur, mutari in deterius solent) contigit, ut consilio ipsi superesset efficiendi consilii modus. Haberi inde coepit publicum jus privata injuria. Ii enim, quos propter utilitatem ad imperium populus evexerat, cessuros se iterum negabant; sibi jam populi rem curæ esse, non populo. Indè officio ad tempus delegato addita seculi duratio, mox per hæredes perpetuitas.

Visum est autem rerum potentibus, regnum suum nunquam satis firmum fore, donec primores populi vinculo divitiarum sibi devincirent. Nec melius hoc fieri potuit, quàm cohibendo possessiones, ne hæc illæ fluctuarent temerè et casu, dominosque suos perpetuò mutarent. Potest quidem proprietas inter homines æqualiter distribui; diu sic manere non potest. Ea est enim, cujus adipiscendæ spes ad laborem homines urget: labor autem, si minus ad vivendum, at ad beatè quidem vivendum necessarius. Ex hoc tamen fonte dimanante latiùs derivatur, quicquid usquam interni mali in civitates fluxerit. Divitiæ enim in paucorum manus redactæ efficiunt, ut aliud plebeio, aliud optimati conveniat. Cum autem illud in civitate in primis optabile videtur, ne cui privatum sit commodum a publico alienum, curæ id esse legum latoribus debuit, ut ruituræ reipublicæ

litæ succurrerent, et naturæ morbo laboranti per artem mederentur. E contrario autem, leges inæquali fortunæ adeò non adversatæ sunt, ut ei semper opem tulerint. Et mirum, uti diximus, nî res ita esset, ea cum sit imperii cum proprietate cognatio, ut vices planè easdem utraque sortiatur. Nam si quis unus vir censum habeat ternâ plus minùs parte majorem, quàm cæteri simul omnes gentis suæ, in illo sita est dominatio. Si pauci paulò majori* censûs ratione cæteris præpollent, opti-

* Necesse est, ut paucorum, quàm unius, major sit census, major autem adhuc universorum, quàm paucorum, priùs quàm eandem potestatem æquè nanciscantur. Quò enim inter pauciores divisa proprietas est, eò est latior ac potentior proprietatis ejusdem vis. Ubi enim ex voluntate paucorum omnia pendent, longè verisimilior est consensus illa, quàm ad expedire promptèq; agendum opus est, quàm ubi in consilium de rebus publicis adhibentur cives universi. Sequitur autem, eadem celeritate res nunquam expeditas iri, atque cum in unum conflatur penes unum dominum proprietas. Is enim sibi semper constat, idem vult, idem non vult, iisdem commodis, iisdem incommodis utitur; unde adversariorum cunctationes antevertere potest, et discordias lucrari. Vidit hoc septimus Henricus, Anglorum rex, cum optimam abalienationis legem ferret, quàm nobilium improvidorum potentiam fregit domuitque. Non vidit Henricus filius, qui si fortè vidisset, cum tyrannus esset profligatissimus, redditus ecclesiasticos vel propriâ in manu tenuisset, vel brevissima in tempora elocasset. Tunc autem, "Quo res summa loco?"

matum

matum principatus est. Sin neque uni, nèque paucis, sed ipsi populo census, qui sit paulò adhuc auctior, contingat, tum demum in ipso populo fons imperii ac sedes est.

Quanquam vereor, ut ei, qui, hæc quàm vera sint, non uno intuitu videat, ullo sim argumento præjudicatas opiniones excussurus, operæ tamen pretium fuerit principium illud in hunc modum explicare. Si cuivis, eò quòd centum minæ sibi singulis annis redeunt, servum unum alere liceat, ei, si redditus centies foret major, centum alendi servos daretur facultas; centum millia, si centies millies. Quo autem modo is non evadet rex?

A proprietate igitur, tanquam a parente suâ, quæque imperii forma vitam haurit, et indolem suam sibi induit. Huic rei ut in primis instarem, necessarium habui, quoniam scriptoribus ferè omnibus solenne fuit alias atque, ut opinor, falsas rationes adducere, cur variæ imperii formæ variis populis arriserint. Nec parvi nobis momenti visum est, priùs quàm de imperiis ipsis loqueremur, fixam ante oculos normam ponere, ad quam exigì possent imperiorum naturæ, et quasi principii cujusdam fundamenta jacere, in quo nostræ orationis cardo sine morâ et impedimento verteretur. In optimum autem civem, Harringtonum, cujus animo lux ea primùm apparuit, perquam

ingratus essem, nisi profiterer me auctorem illum et veluti præceptorem consilii mei lubentissimè sequi.

Tandem igitur, meâ quidem sententiâ, *potest* magnum imperium cum æquâ libertate constare. Quasdam autem leges assumo, quæ si locum non habent, minimè recusandum est, quin de totâ hâc re aliter statuam. Imperium istud, quo de agitur, per omnes sui partes compactum unicè et coâgmentatum esse debet. Quicquid in aliâ parte cives vel agant, vel agere velint, id demum oportet aliis etiam civibus probè cognitum sit et perspectum. Quin illud permagni interest, ut quicquid civium aciem præstringat, quicquid a contemplatione rerum ad nomina mentes abducatur, quicquid denique veritati fucum faciat, longè absit. Rituum et consuetudinum, quæ conjunctioni partium antecesserint, nulla uspiam vestigia singulis maneant. Una sit rerum maximarum eademque facies in locis omnibus necesse est. Talis inter vicinas nationes intercedat cognatio, uti per omnes, ut ita dicam, imperii artus communis periculi sensus æquabiliter vibret. Fiat porro civitati de rebus gravissimis commune quoddam concilium. Si religio sit aliqua legibus stabilita, simplex sit illa, et constans sibi, cæterasque religiones, quasi socias quasdam et virtutis ministras, æquo animo ferat,

ferat, et amicè foveat. Deleantur autem bella illa "plusquam civilia," quæ vel fraus cum conscientia, vel quæ cum veritate impietas gerit. Latè diffundatur per populum pecunia. Non alio discrimine, quàm dialectorum, cives loquantur. Iisdem disciplinis ad humanitatem informentur. In defensione finium suorum unicè occupati cæteras gentes aggredi nesciant. Sit denique unus princeps, tanquam populi caput et fastigium: publicæ enim res per unum quàm per plures celerius ac magis auspiciatò tractari solent. Princeps tamen iste quomodò constituendus esset, quo nomine uti deberet, quæ ejus futuræ essent et quàm diuturnæ potestates, non est nunc disserendi locus. Caveatur illud unicè, penes eum ne foret, ut populo aliquantillùm noceat. Sic constitutum imperium si fato aliquandò gentibus daretur, illicò æqua libertas extaret. Dolendum est profectò, ejusmodi libertatem, generis humani præsidium perinde atq; ornamentum, terris vixdum illuxisse.

In animo quondam fuisse Caio Cæsari accepimus, legum aliquod corpus in usum Romanorum componere. Suo autem huic voto quò minùs satisfaceret, non sine magno posterorum dispendio fatum vetuit. Quamvis enim ab eo, qui tamdiu "assueverat militaribus ingeniis," leges ad civilem liberamque accommodatas vix

ea tamen Cæsari (quæ an nemini haud scio) rerum ferè omnium divina quædam cognitio, ea inerat benevolentia, ut fieri prorsus non potuerit, quin excudisset quasdam libertatis æquæ scintillulas, quæ in sacrum quendam vastumque ignem postea exarsissent,

A Sullio etiam memoratur quartus ille Henricus, Gallorum rex, (quem ego, patriæ patrem suæ, ex animo verèque diligo) grande quoddam consilium inisse, Europam in quindecim partes dividendi, quarum nulli liceret fines suos ulterius proferre; unum autem in fœdus, pacis et mutuæ libertatis ergò, omnes cõirent, eandem religionem colerent, iisdem essent legibus obstricti. Atqui consilium istud splendida inter insomnia censendum reor, quæ vividis imaginibus illudere menti solent, a vero autem et ratione longè plurimùm recedunt. Iræ enim ex recentibus victoriis conceptæ non nisi ægerrimè deponuntur; et majorem vim, quàm quæ diu sustentari posset, res ipsa postulasset, quò ad legum et religionis communionem omnes cogerentur. Rariùs etiam per populos sparsa fuit proprietas. Adde, quòd nimis *μοναρχικῶς*, optimus licèt vir fuerit, Henricus senserit, quàm ut secula totidem futura rationis vi transilire posset, et in æquæ libertatis culturam præcipiti cursu ferretur. Etenim tunc temporis consuetudines eæ,

quæ

quæ ex militaribus Celtarum et Gothorum gentibus originem traxerunt, et quas *feodales* appellabant, etsi remissiùs colerentur, nondum tamen in animis hominum obsoleverant.

Agitedum, imperia nonnulla ex iis, quæ hodie extant, cujusmodi sint, paulò attentius inspiciamus. Vereor, ne prisca historia Germaniam degenerem jam et sui planè dissimilem vix, aut ne vix quidem, agnoscat! Civitas inter trecentos principes divisa multiplici tyrannide vexatur. Ibi etiam, quò angustioribus quisque princeps limitibus circumscribatur, eò populus infelicior. Etenim potentiori cujusque amplitudinem splendoremque numero servorum et apparatu domestico æmulans, populi damno et impensis cùm privatam luxuriam, tum publicam magnificentiam, princeps sibi comparat. Hinc liquidò patet, quàm vanum prorsùs sit, æquabilitatem juris imperii angustiis metiri. Nihilominùs, propria sunt quædam Germaniæ, unde credas, posse eam faciliùs quàm plures tyrannides in æquam libertatem defleci.

De Russiâ autem illud confirmo, lati illius imperii vastique multiplices variæque partes ut in unum aliquod corpus, salvâ pace, coëant, cujus membra inter se aptè hæreant, sintque sana et robusta, nullo pacto expectandum esse. Illic enim, ut non alibi magis, spreto proprietatis libramento, pauci divi-

tes,

tes, multi pauperes. Gens parum ad humanitatem instructa et informata est; ferax recentibus victoriis; cœlo iniquo eadem incertoque utitur.

Britannia quidem et Hibernia in unum arctius coeuntes æquam inter omnes libertatem communicare possent, et communicatam eandem componere et stabilire. Illud autem quò minùs fiat, in causâ esse videntur permulta. Nimirum, merces suas jam olim invidit Hiberniæ Britannia, parumque abest, quin arma in eam iniqua et funesta intendat. Aliâ porrò ex parte, libertatis non solidam illam et expressam imaginem, sed fucatam quandam speciem, dicitur præ se ferre Hibernia; suo etiam aulico comitatu seorsum gloriatur, suam sibi regiam arrogat, in senatu denique vult eniti proprio ac suo.

De Galliâ quomodò nunc loquar, nescio. Non dum enim "placidum caput extulit undis." Veruntamen fateor lubens, in illâ tellure oculos meos anxie et sollicitè defigi, neque posse me aliter sentire, quàm cum ejus fortunis populorum ferè omnium fortunas esse conjunctas, et ab illo veluti filo generis humani felicitatem omninò omnem pendere. Quibuscunque tandem fati Galli dimicaverint, qualiscunque fuerit exitus militiæ non satîs pro voto meo auspicatæ, illud tamen mordicùs teneo, faci-us illos fuisse ausos, quod sit maximum et pulcherrimum,

cherrimum, carosque semper animæ meæ intimis in præcordiis gestabo, quod æquæ omnium libertati acceptissimum munus consecrârit.

Animus mihi in dies incandescit, quoties plebis in aures insusurrari audio falsos nescio quos rumosculos earum rerum, quæ in Galliâ geruntur, quod scilicet ab æquæ libertatis patrocinio ceteri homines absterreantur. Cur autem hi laudis percrebuerint, præcipua causa stetit magni olim nominis orator, qui, animo ad causam tyrannidis adjecto, mirabiles quasdam excitavit tragædias, et putidis ampullis somnia mentis suæ decoravit. Grandi paginâ turgescens, et læsam antiquitatis majestatem specioso verborum exercitu gestiens ulcisci, quantum erat in ullâ unquam linguâ intemperiarum et conviciorum, omne virus acerbitalis suæ, in gentem de iis omnibus, quibuscumque cordi est libertas, optimè meritam, evomuit ac penitus exantlavit. Quippe spes de se pridem conceptas nihil reveritum, non illum puduit regium tanquam buccinatorem videri, et consceleratæ illi tyrannorum colluvioni, quæ bellum atrocissimum in Gallos jam nunc movet, classicum inhumaniter præcinuisse. Gaudeat sanè et gratuletur sibi, si potest, de diris illis et imprecationibus, quibus populum laudatissimum devovit. Gaudeat, si potest, emendicasse luctum
illum,

illum, quem non commoverit, et tyrannos plûs vice simplici vociferationibus suis unos demeruisse. Est interea et nobis, *turba quanquam sumus suilla*, unde gaudeamus, siquidem hominibus jam tandem innotuerit, ea quæ scripserit, non integrorum fide testium scripsisse, sed fide exulum, fide perfugarum, fide perditissimi et exoleti peregrinantium monachorum gregis, fide patriæ perduellium suæ. Et nos quoque ei gratulamur, quòd furorem ei et insaniam Deus injecisse videatur, hoc utique consilio, ut a partibus suis sanos omnes abigeret, et conculcatæ a se libertati invitus ipse opitularetur. Formidolosissimum enim provocavit in se scriptorum agmen, qui exilia ejus argumenta turpissimam in fugam verterunt, fregerunt, trucidârunt.

Maçti igitur estote, cives Gallici, O digni nomine reverà civium, maçti novis virtutibus, conservatores civitatis vestræ, universæ libertatis vindices! Si enim sædum illud teterrimumq; gemituum et lachrymarum domicilium expugnâstis, ac solo æquâstis: Si litteras illas exitiabili auctoritate consignatas penitùs delevistis: Si æquabilitatem juris propter perdices, leporesque, et id genus omne, periclitari nolulistis: Si publicam scribendi quidlibet *καπηλαία* adhibendo, a veritate et scientiâ permagnam iniistis gratiam: Si catenis civilibus
con-

cōscientiam liberāstis: Si improbas gentium su-
 perstitutiones radicitus evulsuri, sprevistis nominum
 inanitatem, perque industriam et virtutem ad ve-
 ram nobilitatem unum iter affectari decrevistis:
 Si, naturalibus hominum juribus egregiè quaqua-
 versum prospicientes, iudicium parium instituistis,
 atque adeò vitam, libertatem, et possessiones om-
 nes in tuto collocāstis: Si universum amorem in
 omnes omnium terrarum populos pro humanitate
 vestrā primi mortalium publicè declarāstis, et de-
 suetæ militiæ, *quantum vos penes esset*, inferias im-
 molāstis: Si denique populi voluntatem, et νόμον
 πάντων βασιλέα, in locum tyrannicæ lubricitatis ef-
 ferentes, triginta millia capitum de mancipiis et
 mediastinis cives, ex carnificum potestate jurum
 suorum fecistis: Si sint hæc, uti sunt, peracta
 a vobis omnia, hominibus ad servitutem paratis-
 simis tutò licebit concedatis, desipere et ringi.
 Pusilli isti obtrectatores gloriæ vetræ strepitu ma-
 gis numeroque sunt, quàm dignitate et eloquentiā
 reformidandi. Acciderunt tamen, sat scio, (neq;
 enim tam benè cū rebus humanis geritur, ut
 bonum aliquod sincerum atque integrum unquam
 speremus) acciderunt inter tot tamque egregia
 beneficia casus ii, quos et probus quisque defleat
 necesse est, et quorum vosmetipsos in primis
 pudet pigetque. Æquus autem harum rerum
 æstimator quicumque est, statim videt, privata pau-
 corum

eorum infortunia cum publicis universorum commodis nec posse conferri, nec debere*; plaudetque vobis, quoties philosophari voluerit animus, tantum ex virtute vestrâ universæ felicitati cumulum accessisse.

Sedet quodammodò in mente meâ eadem sententia, quæ olim in mente Rumbaldi istius, qui Caroli secundi, regis Anglorum, temporibus vixit. Quænam sit illa, rogitas? At “ magna forsâ hodie
“ responsi invidia subeunda est.” Igitur *Ψεύσασμαι*,
“ *ἢ ἐτύμως ἐρέω*; *Κέλεται δέ με θύμῳ*. Hæ scilicet
erant, quæ paulò *audaciùs* ab eo voces edebantur.
“ Se nunquam crediturum, Deo id placere, plurimam partem humani generis ephippia in dorsis,
“ et fræna in oribus gerentem nasci, paucos autem
“ tem ocreis calcaribusque instructos, qui cæteros

* Ne constare quidem posset, nisi cum gravi quorundam malo, humana societas. Res quidem in se maximè optanda est, tributorum omnium et vestigalium immunitas. Sed nunc his actum esset de quâvis republicâ. Quocirca, cùm bello Peloponnesiaco lassi vexatq; Athenienses Pericli obmurmurabant, his verbis adducti mulcebantur:

Ἐγὼ μὲν πρῶμαι, πάλιν πάλιν ἐκπύσασθαι ὀφειλέτωι ὁφειλῶ τῆς ἰδιότητος, ἢ καδ' ἵκασιν τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπεραγῶσαι, ἀλφείας δὲ σφαλλομένην, καλῶς μὲν γὰρ φερόμενθ' αὐτῆς τὸ καδ' ἑαυτὸν, διαφθορομένης τῆς πατρίδος, ὅθι ἥσσαν ἐναπέλλυται κακότητων δ' ἐν ἰσχυρόσῃ, πολλὰ μάλιστα διασέβεται.

Thucyd. ii.

“ usque

“ usque ad interitum agerent et stimularent.”

Hujusmodi tamen vereor ne sint istorum sententiae, qui cum in æquam libertatem, tum in æquæ libertatis cultores, acerrimè invehuntur. Quorundam ex his mos est, cum ratio et argumenta parcè, uti solet, suppetant, insulsè identidem clamitare, eos, qui juris æquabilitati patrocinentur, insidias locupletibus meditari. Hunc autem clamorem, cum ipse secum egregiè dissideat, mallet fatuitati potius eorum quàm malitiæ tribuere. Quomodò enim jus id æquabile esset, quod aliquem jure suo spoliaret, equidem oculos habeo minùs lynceos, quàm ut omninò videam. Sed res dissociatas miscet, siquidem æquabile jus cum æquali proprietate confundunt. Optandum profectò est, legem aliquam ferri, quæ proprietatis incrementis modum aliquem affigat, ita tamen, ut nimis arctâ non sit, neque industriæ acumen hebetet atque obtundat. Sed ut ex possessiones, quæ sint unius ejusque jam nunc propriæ, sacrilegis manibus violandæ permittantur, id profectò neque immutabiles justitiæ leges patiuntur, nec sapiens unquam nec probus somniavit.

Cum persuasissimum mihi sit, non posse homines commodè vivere, nisi imperio inter se consocientur, neque “ imperium ullum esse tutum, nisi munitum benevolentia,” querendum apprimè videtur,

videtur, cujusmodi sint illæ artes, quæ imperiũ
populo reddant amabile.

Fieri id verò tum demum poterit, cùm leges,
non homines, dominabuntur, cùm jura populi
firmissimis præsiidiis tegentur, ita ut publicam il-
lam utilitatem, ex quâ quicquid est imperii ortum
duxit, ambitio singulorum invadere nequitiam
possit. Illa quidem jura partim naturæ, partim
societati, accepta solent referri. Malim tamen
ipse ea omnia naturæ jura appellare; jus enim
nullum a societate datum existimo. Neque hæc
distinctione omninò opus foret; si eadem semper
esset potestatis, eadem juris, ratio. Quoniam au-
tem persæpè accidit, ut perfecto hominis jure,
imperfecta sit juris tuendi potestas, necesse est ut
subsidium societatis petat. Partem igitur aliquam
jorum suorum societati in fidem permittit, non
quò decurtata et mutila, sed quò pleniora et am-
pliora fiant. Jura sunt hominum tria: securitas,
proprietas, libertas: neque aliud quidpiam spectare
debet sociale fœdus, seu imperium, quàm ut his
hominum juribus vim et diuturnitatem addat.

Formam illam regiminis perfectissimam dixeris,
cujus partes ita commodè inter se librantur, ut
civium nemo seditiones in eo concitare possit,
nec quidem, si possit, velit. Ut autem nemo pos-
sit, firmum necesse est imperium sit, ut non velit,
bonum.

bonum. Imperium itaque, quod simul et firmum et bonum est, id, quod desideret, nihil omnino habet. Si enim firmum est, ut sit bonum quoque, cum tamdiu duraturum sit, expediet; si bonum, tunc, cum tantum ad felicitatem hominum faciat, ut sit etiam firmum, optandum erit. Cum verò bina sint regendi principia, quorum internum hoc, illud externum est, hoc quam illo uti malim. Hoc enim in bonis animi situm est, illud in bonis fortunæ. Bona autem animi, virtus, ratio, sapientia; bona fortunæ, opes sunt. Ex opibus, ut initio ostendimus, potestas oritur; ex virtute, et ratione, et sapientiâ, oritur auctoritas. Saudet auctoritas, potestas cogit; hæc vi, amore illa ministro utitur. In quemcunque autem exercetur vis, is ea quæ facit, præ metu plerumque facit; dum contrâ, qui amore trahitur, lubens omnia latusque peragit. Et quidem plures sunt ii, qui amore afficiuntur, quam qui timore, neque in plures tantummodo hoc cadit, verum etiam in meliores. Exinde liquet, constantissimum omnium illud imperium fore, quod hominum juribus ac publicæ libertati benevolè prospiciat, atque adeo principum ac populi commodis, arctissime inter se conjunctis et consociatis, pariter inserviat.

Ipsa porro decantata illa libertas, quid potissimum velit, paucis exponam. Numnam potestas sit agendi quid velis? Minimè gentium. Nomen

enim libertatis non paucos amplecti debet, sed universos, non homines, sed humanum genus. Quòd si, quicquid velles, id ageres, aut tumultuarentur societatis principia, nihil ut posses agere, quod velles; aut potestas ita agendi intra paucos contineretur. Non alia est igitur libertas, quàm potestas agendi, quicquid cuique placuerit—modò alteri non noceat. Jus igitur hominis non aliis videtur finiri terminis, quàm qui necessarii sint, ut quod huic liceat, idem et illi æquo jure liceat. Hi termini penes legem sunt; neque a lege quisquam, sed per legem, liber. Hos intra fines unicuique pariter spatium dedit natura. Illa enim quanquam, opifex egregiè versatilis, non unam omnibus membrorum compositionem, non unam lineamentorum conformationem impertivit, omnes tamen iisdem cupidinibus, eadem libertate, donavit.

Senili autem voce clamat lymphatus iste, de quo antè memini, orator, eos, qui æquabilitatem juris omnibus permittant, vitæ ornamenta et, ut ita dicam, *decentias** manu rudi et inurbanâ pro-

* Non me fallit verbum hocce a latinitate paululum abhorrere: Sed aliud vocabulum haud novi, quod ad istius κίεσις τοῦ ἰχθυογράφου καὶ τῷ μισοδῆμῳ mentem et φρεσίν satis accederet. Alio in numero ac quidem sensu Cicero- nem comperi hâc voce usum esse. "Figurarum venustatem atque ordinem, et, ut ita dicam, decentiam, oculi judicant." N. D. 2. 58.

tinùs divulsuros. Quæ quidem res omninò gravis est. Nam si constaret, eam esse seculi humanitatem, ut veram et absolutam libertatem morum politulorum lenociniis compenset, me quidem, quod ad me attinet, in sylvas proinde relegatum velim, ferâ fruiturum solitudine, et naturâ integrâ et illibatâ. Quid enim, Deos immortales! vel sceleratius vel fædius excogitari possit, quàm ut donum istud, quod a vobis pretiosissimum datum sit, adulterinis hominum artificiis permute-
mus? Sed meliùs cùm de humanitate, tum etiam de sensu communi horum ego temporum sentio, quàm ut “ tali auxilio vel defensoribus istis” egeant. Sani quicquid est in cujuscunque civitatis corpore, intactum omne relinquet æqua libertas: cum morbis tantum et pestibus bellum gerit. Sin idem iste ea pro *vitæ decentiis* intelligit, quas ego vel nequitias, et luxus, vel captiones, et machinas, et fallacias meras voco, rectè se habent hominis istius suspiciones: Ea certè omnia, tanquam societatis purgamenta et quisquilias, æqua libertas abstergebit. Totum hoc crimen, quantumcunq; sit, lubenter in se recipit.

Nec sanè æquam omnibus libertatem honestus quisvis invidet, si modò, quanta virtutem inter et libertatem intercedat societas, secum reputet. Quin Assyrios, pervelim, cæterosque Orientis po-

pulos, cum Græcis et Romanis, liberis quidem illis, conferat. Illinc stare videbit fraudem, superbiam, ferocitatem, omnia omninò vitia; hinc sapientiam, fortitudinem, et quicquid usquam vel litterarum bonarum floruit, vel virtutis. Atqui Romanos illos ipsos respiciat, quales fuerint, postquam libertatem amisissent, Cappadocumque similes ipsam servitutem fædissimè essent amplexi. Ut ipsi sibi dissimillimi! Ut torpentes spectaculis! Ut inter balnea et porticus, inter pectinem speculumque, marcentes! Profecò, populi Rom. ullam uspiam vestigia vix agnoveris. Quam non cædes Gracchana, non Sullanæ Marianæque tempestates, quam non Catilina, et Cethegus, et Lentulus, potuerant, donec vigeat libertas, domare, illa ipsa civium vitio, mortuâ jam libertate, Roma extincta est. Neque liberæ quidem ullius gentis in mentem venit, quæ a tyranno debellata sit, nisi quos acie ille vicerit, eosdem facultatibus et numero militum immanè quantum superaverit: multos autem reges memini a civitatibus, quæ simul parvæ essent liberæque, fusos et devictos. Quæ res cum Machiavelium non fugeret, affirmare non dubitavit, virtutem cum libertate ita arctè copulatam esse, ut homines neque liberi esse possent, nisi boni, neque boni, nisi iidem essent liberi. Huc profecò argumenta illius deveniunt: In civitate, quæ probè sit morata
et

et libera, fore, ut seditiones et tumultus populo parum obsint; ubi autem improbi sint cives, et servorum mores induerint, ibi ne optimas quidem leges diu vel plurimum prodesse. Egregium verò illud libertati inest, quòd, quò amet eam quisque vir, satis sit, ut cognoscat; quò habeat quisque populus, satis, ut velit. Talis cum sit libertatis indoles, cum virtus unà cum libertate habitet, felicitas cum virtute, e re erit humani generis, ut libertas æquè per omnes sparsa ac disseminata sit.

Cum autem in omni oratione duæ potissimum res cavendæ sunt, primum, ut quicquid commendaverit orator, prodesse videatur, deinde, cum prosit, fieri etiam posse, nobis dimidiâ illâ officii nostri parte, quod spero, functis superest, ut, æquâ libertate quomodò omnes frui possint, doceamus. Inquirenda est igitur quænam sit ista politia, cujus sub auspiciis cum magna tum parva imperia æquo jure uti pariter possint.

Omnis civitas vel paucorum multis, vel multorum sibi imperitantium est. Quicumque autem imperant, ea est natura hominum, ut iidem in primis commodo prospiciant suo. Itaque boni imperii mysterium, ut ita dicam, hinc omne pendet, ut imperent ii, quorum ad salutem ipsum imperium debeat accommodari. Si igitur populi

commoda imperii finis ac propositum sit, necessariò sequitur, eos sibi ipsis, sive per suos sive per se, imperare oportere.

Olim hominibus ad leges ferendas, vel ad consulendum de publico quovis negotio, universis simul concursus est. Usitatum illud fuisse Gallis Germanisque, Cæsar et Tacitus testantur. Ferunt etiam apud barbaras Americæ tribus idem hodie moris esse. Ex multitudine verò concurrentium cum tumultuari omnia et confundi cernerentur, idem agendi aliter felicissima certè via reperta est. Hujus autem viæ inscitia cum miseræ Romæ per-luctuosa contigerit, fieri planè non potuit, ut verbo rem describerent, quam ne cogitatione quidem consecuti essent. Dabitur idcirco venia, si secundum hanc notionem inusitatâ Latio voce utar, præsertim cum in mentionem frequenter veniat, sique egregium illud in rebus politicis inventum hodierno nomine *repræsentationem* appellem. Est autem legitima repræsentatio, vox totius populi paucorum oribus faciliq; compendio loquens: Est universa voluntas pressior paulò et adductior, et paucorum fidei delegata.

Non tamen ad evitandos tumultus solùm accommodata videtur repræsentatio; verùm si non majora, at alia saltem commoda jaçtat. Duplex enim est ratio; (si verbis utar Harringtoni) par-
tim

tim ex inventione, partim ex judicio constat. Quod ad judicium attinet, uti et Solomoni et Machiavelio visum est, multorum consulentium magna auctoritas. Nec verò populari comitio privatus quispiam, oportet, se conferat facultate judicandi. VOX POPULI VOX EST DEI. Inde fit, ut in omni politiâ, quæ benè ordinata fuerit, decreti cujusque summa penes populum sit. Inventio autem solitaria res est. Sicut enim *circulationem*, quod aiunt, sanguinis non omnes medici, sed unus invenit, inventam verò omnes amplectuntur; ita in omni, inquam, republicâ pauci consulant, decernant universi.

Quoties de humanâ quâvis institutione ratiocinemur, perfectissima ejus forma debet intelligi. Si enim a proposito discesserit suo, minimè istiusmodi sive error, sive scelus, ad quæstionem nostram attinet; siquidem de integritate consilii, non depravatione, de usu, non abusu, loquimur. Quare, cùm de repræsentatione agam, eam volo, quæ detractis vitiis vera et absoluta sit. Quid, quòd rivuli ejus impurissimi nunc temporis per nostram ipsorum civitatem fluant? An mihi propterea id obstat, quò minùs ad ipsos fontes puros atque integros accedam? Nobis autem ea sincera et perfecta videtur repræsentatio, quæ unicuique civi, qualicunque tandem fruatur dignitate aut for-

tunâ, libertatem concedit alium quempiam in senatum legandi, quasi opinionum ipsius nuncium, et quem rei quâ publicæ, quâ suæ, maximè prospecturum judicet; ita ut senatûs consultum non aliud sit ac consensus populi. Solos secerno illos, qui vel insani sint, ideòque rerum omnium, quæ ratione modoque tractantur, penitùs ignari; vel qui natu minores, ideòque ad judicandum minùs idonei; vel sotes, ideòque propter perditos mores prorsùs inhabiles ad honesta consilia; vel pauperes *, ideòque non ab alienâ auctoritate liberi, et præterea, cum nihil habeant, nihil ipsi perdituri; vel denique mulieres, (pace dixerim ejus omnis, quicquid

* Me jam diu ancipitem habuit hæc quæstio, utrùm suffragia ferre liceret pauperibus. *Pauperes autem eos non voco, "queis rerum suppetit usus,"* sed qui necessaria ad vivendum ex aliorum potiùs abundantia, quàm ex operâ comparant suâ. Habent, fateor, quæ defendantur, et vitam et libertatem; et istam igitur suffragandi cuilibet licentiam iis tandem non denego, nisi dolens, invitus, coactus. Sed malis adeò avibus nati sunt, ut, in præsentî rerum humanarum statu, liberas eorum sententias minimè expectes; et ita divitum potestati iniquum additamentum fieret, cum penes illos esset, pauperum suffragia cibi frustulis emere. Quocirca, non hoc hominibus, sed rerum naturæ, vitio vertendum est. Quòd si sinceram ullam repræsentationem unquam experiemur, non difficile fuerit ostendere, quomodo eodem tempore et pauperum numerus, et inevitabilis simul illa in pauperes injuriâ, necessariò evadet minor ac propè evanesceat.

in

in deliciis habeo) eò quòd, si rebus politicis semel immiscerentur, curæ iis non ampliùs essent comes illæ venustates, et innocentes blanditiæ, et exquisita nescio quæ concinnitas, et tenerior lepos, quæ quidem omnia sexûs mollietiem decent, quæ vitam humanam hilariorem et quodammodò amœnorem reddunt, faciuntque, ut ipsarum etiam salutem per salutem virorum abundè consulatur *.

Ἄλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἴθυσ' τὰ σπυγῆς ἔργα κερμίζε,

Ἰδόν τ', ἡλακάρην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπάλαισι χελέου

Ἔργον ἐπιείχουσθαι· πόλεμον δ' ἄνδρυσσι μολήσων—

Exceptis illis, quos dixi, cæteri, velim, omnes suffragia ferant, ut qui omnes æquum jus, commune commodum, habeant.

Principatûs omnis, qui stabile quiddam et permansurum in se jactat, fundamenta in veritate, in justitiâ, in rerum naturâ, et in ratione locari debent. Hoc quomodò fit, ubi pars a parte populi, nedum a majore minor, jus suum et libertatem abripit? Manifestum autem illud, quòd, si non æqua sit repræsentatio, non æqua possit esse libertas. Hominem enim, cui, quâ non velit, impe-

* Πάντων μὲν μετίχου γυνὴ ἐπιτηδεύματων κατὰ φύσιν, πάντων δὲ ἀνὴρ. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἀσθενέστερον γυνὴ ἀνδρός. Plat. p. 455, tom. 2. Edit. Ser.

Arrisit tamen hæc nostra ætas, confiteor lubens, exculti adeò ingenii nonnullis scæminis, ut eas vel ipsi Aspasias tantùm non palmam præripuisse Socrates ipse judicaret.

ratur

ratur, vel qui aliis utcunque imperantibus, omninò ut imperent, non suffragatus est, eum ego liberum minimè voco.

Scio equidem permultos esse, qui illud omne, quicquid de æquâ repræsentatione diximus, lubenter concedentes, hoc tantum pernegent, magno in imperio posse eam obtinere. Nescire se confitentur, si interdicenda aliquibus sit libertas, quinam præcipuè sint ii, qui nullo admissi crimine, jure illo orbari mereantur. Æquæ autem libertati idcirco videntur refragari, non quia tam in magno quàm in parvo imperio esse non debet, sed quia non potest. Mihi verò de hâc re sæpenumerò et impensiùs cogitanti nullus unquam scrupulus injectus est, quin eandem et magnæ crederem et parvæ civitati patere libertatem, eas modò leges semper intelligas, quas olim posui. Nec sanè rationi valdè consentaneum dūco, ut quò plures sint ipsi cives, eò jura esse debeant pauciora, ut multitudo libertatem sibi vindicantium ex libertatis ipsâ inopiâ æstimanda sit.

In tumultus omnes, qui ex senatoriis delectibus magno in imperio possent oriri, Gallis nuper paratum egregiè præsidium est. Quoniam enim præ numero eligentium tantâ in civitate, si omnes simul congregarentur, perturbatum omne fieret negotium, nec satis plenè perfectèque collecta populi voluntas, comitia comitiis subijciunt, et ordinem quendam

quendam et quasi præstantiam delectum agnoscunt. Prima comitia legatos suos in secunda mittunt; hi autem alios eligunt, qui in supremum concilium arcessuntur. Efficitur hinc, nequa sit regio major, quin pariter atque ea quæ minima sit, representationi, hoc est, libertati faveat. Prima autem illa comitia in quot velis partes minutatim diviseris, politicis cum jurebus quàm latissimè diffusis quies et tranquillitas amicissimè conjurabunt.

Sed æquabilitati juris nondum satis cautum est. Restat etiamnum aliquid, quod donec stabilitum fuerit, neque locum habituram esse æquam libertatem, nec, si haberet, duraturam unquam sperabo. Deest quippe gentibus publicæ educationis aliqua ratio, quâ ad rerum civilium scientiam cives informantur. Num leges prudenter latæ sunt? Benè est. Gratia ferentibus habeantur. Sed legum-latorum officio dimidiâ tantum ex parte adhuc satisfactum est. Curandum est enim, uti leges, quæ latæ fuerint, populus intelligat. Dogma illud plusquam barbarum, *ignorantiam* scilicet *legis neminem excusare*, si triginta Atheniensium tyrannis, si Phalaridi, si Domitiano placuisset, parum mirabile esset. Sed quòd in civitate aliquâ, quæ se vel liberam vel liberalem profitetur, tam odiosam iniquitatem inveterascere cives patiantur, equidem

equidem stupeo, doleo, perhorresco. Obedientiæ fundamentum est scientia. Quo igitur modo aliquis legibus obedire potest, prius quàm novèrit, quid ipsæ illæ leges velint? In hâc autem præsertim civitate ita perdifficilis est legum cognitio, leges partim incuriâ, partim ex industriâ, tam nodorum et ænigmatum plenæ, tam multiplices, tam sibi ipsis dissidentes, ut inter ipsos juris consultos, imò vel inter iudices, frequentissimè ambigatur, quid de re aliquâ præscribant. Et studia quidem legum eò spectant, non quò intelligantur, sed quò de iis disputetur; non quò plura sciant homines, sed quò plùs noceant. Proinde pauperibus est vix ullus in foro locus: forique discrimen perrarò prudentior quisque adibit. Quippe illic victorem inter et victum id unum interest, ut hic cuncta perdiderit, ille nihil abstulerit. Adeò devorant omnia et ingurgitant prædones illi forenses, qui (ἀρωνικάς, puto,) patroni dicuntur. Adeò etiam verum est Taciti illud, "Plurimæ leges, corruptissima respublica."

Videtis igitur, quàm in pauperes justè benevolèque nos geramus! O cælestem misericordiam! O philosophiam liberalem et eruditam! Officia sua cùm ignorent necesse sit, in ignorantes animadvertimus: primò legem obscuramus, deinde in legem peccantes pro mansuetudine nostrâ punimus.

nimus. Enimverò per totam (non est enim ampliùs dissimulandum) per totam, inquam, Europam caligine pauperum animos insidiosè et inhumaniter obcæcamus*. Prodest scilicet tyrannis, prodest

* Inter Peruvianos sub ditione eorum, qui Yncæ dicuntur, uti Garcilasso de la Vega auctor est, non nisi nobilibus licebat litteris operam dare. Ii verò, qui scientiam omnem interdicerè quærunt pauperibus, in mentem mihi revocant congressum Joannis Cadi, qualis a Shakspeareo describitur, cum scribâ Chatamiensi. En tibi ipsissima Shakspeari verba!

CADE. Who's there?

SMITH. The clerk of Chatam: he can write, and read, and cast account.

CADE. O monstrous!

SMITH. We took him setting of boys' copies.

CADE. Here's a villain!

SMITH. H' as a book in his pocket, with red letters in't.

CADE. Nay, then he's a conjurer.

DICK. Nay, he can make obligations, and write court-hand.

CADE. I am sorry for't: The man is a proper man, on mine honour; unless I find him guilty, he shall not die.—Come hither, Sirrah, I must examine thee: What is thy name?

CLERK. Emmanuel.

DICK. They use to write it on the top of letters;—'Twill go hard with you.

CADE. Let me alone:—Dost thou use to write thy name? or hast thou a mark to thyself, like an honest plain-dealing man?

CLERK. Sir, I thank God, I have been so well brought up, that I can write my name.

ALL. He hath confess'd: away with him; he's a villain, and a traitor.

CADE.

prodest arrogantibus optimatibus et fraudulentis, ut subditi sint rerum omnium honestarum et utilium penitus ignari. Nam neque, si sapuisset Romana plebs, Numæ cum Egeriâ colloquiis credidisset; nec, nisi stolidissimi mortalium fuissent Turci, Mahumedæ in Elborachiâ illâ suâ per novas regiones equitantis expeditio obtinuisset fidem. Hunc in modum pauci veteratores * ad effrænatam tyrannidem sibi viam semper aperuerunt: neque malorum erit horum ullum remedium, quamdiu homines cogitandi libertatem, quam ipsi sibi vindicare debent, ad alios transferri

CADE. Away with him, I say: hang him with his pen and inkhorn about his neck.

Henr. VI. Part 2d. Act. 4. Sc. 2.

Quin eundem iterum audi, quam Dominum Say de odiosâ istâ pauperum institutione aptè & appositè objurgat!

‘Thou hast most traiterously corrupted the youth of the realm, in erecting a grammar-school: and whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used: and, *contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity*, thou hast built a paper-mill!’

* Quales, maximam partem, fuerint ii, qui in subjectos suos miseros inopesque desævièrunt, Maximilianum auctorem habemus, cujus in ore sæpe fuerunt hæc verba:

“O Deus æternæ, nisi tu vigiles, quam malè esset mundo, quem regimus nos, ego miser venator, & sceleratus ille Julius!” (viz. Julius Secundus, Ecclesiæ Romanæ Papa teterrimus.) Vid. Holbergi introductionem ad universalem historiam, pag. 185.

Quæ

ferri patientur, quamdiu, ut cum Tacito loquar, "non erit iudicium, non odium, nisi indita et jussa." Sed piget contemplari illa mentis humanæ velut rudimenta ac primordia, et scientiam adhuc in cunis vagientem, et societatis maculam. Castigandæ sunt igitur leges purgandæque, et ad justitiæ normam fidentiùs exigendæ. Civilis etiam institutionis exquirendum quoddam schema est, quod de republicâ cives erudiat, quod novorum officiorum ad jura, quæ recuperaverint, accommodatorum eos commonefaciat, quod denique ingenii florem extrudat explicetque, et vim illam etiam in pauperum animis inclusam eliciat. Hoc ut fiat, sanctæ illæ et primariæ leges, quibus homines in-

Quæ autem de profundis politicæ scientiæ arcanis, deque mirificâ eorum, qui "rem populi tractant," solertiâ et sagacitate vulgò garriunt, mihi semper vel bilem vel risum moverunt. Sententiæ autem meæ auctorem habeo, fortem in primis sapientemque hominem, Oxenstiernium, qui, cum filius ejus ad legationem quandam jam iturus, et consilia cum politicis viris magni nominis collaturus, tanto negotio sese imparem fateretur, in hunc modum respondit. "Quin eâ ipsâ de causâ, pervelim, istam, quam "tantopere metuis, legationem obeas. *Nescis, mi fili, quàm "parvâ sapientiâ mundus regatur!*"

Profectò, quæ de occultis carminibus jurisconsultorum lepidè et festivè dixit M. Cicero, eadem ipse dixerim de istis politicis mysteriis. 'Pervulgata, atque in manibus jactata et excussa, inanissima prudentiæ reperta sunt, fraudis autem et stultitiæ plenissima.'

V. Orat. pro L. Murenâ.

ter se ineunt societatem, postulant atque efflagitant, idque potissimum in gratiam tenuium et impotentium, quibus mancum ac debile jus acquirendi proprietatem ipsa natura concessit. Hinc pacis artes edoctis pauperibus natalium suorum iniquitas aliquatenus pensaretur: hinc laboribus in dies confectis, non amplius in ebriositate solamen malorum quærent: sed glisceret illicò industriæ vigor, sed juvaretur probitas, firmaretur libertas, et eò rariora crimina fierent, quò latius boni ac mali fines intelligerentur.

Proprium hoc videtur esse Galliæ, ut erudiat homines cunctis artibus, quæ ad universam felicitatem spectant. Igitur onerosam istam antiqui juris molem dejecit, et leges substituit paucas, easque simplices, et omnibus æquè patentes; scientiam porrò earundem singulis civibus communicandi modum quendam excogitavit. Istâ in regione (si utilissimo scriptori, Barlovio, fides) leges sunt in tabulas exscriptæ, et ædificiorum parietibus magno quovis in oppido affixæ: quin simul ac latæ sunt, legit eas et ex pulpito explicat sacerdos. Mos etiam consimilis, eodem teste, invaluit inter Americanos, apud quos reperitur vix aliquis sex annos natus, qui non et scripta legere, et ipse etiam scribere possit. Exinde factum est, ut in regione quâdam Americanâ
per

per centum et triginta annos post conditam civitatem nemo vel morte multatus esset, vel dignus apparuisset, qui morte multaretur. Præterea, non illic summa paupertas, non summæ divitiæ, sed æquiori redditâ per universorum industriam proprietate, omnia omnibus abundant.

Quinetiam ad exæquandam libertatem plurimum valet libera rationis exercitatio; adeò ut cum præclaro quodam viro, orto Genève, consentiamus, qui affirmare non dubitaverit, ubicumq; floreret quæ preli dicitur licentia, ibidem fore, ut libertas vigeret. Hinc sempiternæ cum illâ licentiâ tyrannorum inimiciæ. Hinc quotquot servitutem servire amant, in seditiones, in pericula publica, in famosos, quod aiunt, libellos, declamandi occasionem arripiunt. Hisce autem contentionibus insunt facetiæ suæ. Nam libertatis oppugnatores ratione contra rationem uti conantur, et ostendere vi rationis, quàm inutilis ipsa sit ratio. O capitula lepidissima! O homines cerebri felices! quos quidem, quò vincant, vinci necesse est! Ipse autem, cum ingenii paulò tardioris sim, neque in argutiis istiusmodi versatus, quid mali ex absolutâ ratione, liberâque veri inquisitione profluxurum sit, equidem non video; quid boni, video. Prævè utaris: Quid tum? An extinguenda propterea est ratio, quòd abuti eâ quis possit?

pōssit? Extinguas igitur religionem: religio enim ipsa plurimum damni depravata hominibus intulit. Vellem utique ex illā parte stantem liberam rationem, ex hāc superstitionem contueri, quò, utra plùs profuerit, plùs læserit, seriò perpenderetur. Hinc natio in nationem armis instructa est; hinc corruptæ civitates, et in servitutem redactæ; hinc violata et trucidata pietas; hinc actæ in exilium litteræ, leges, libertas. Illinc quàm diversa rerum facies sese aperit! Amplificatam cernimus libertatis dignitatem; confirmatam veritatis vim; fraudem, et fallaciam, et præstigias publicas, ubique in fugam versas; diligentius excultam et animosiùs benevolentiam; dilatatos Christianæ caritatis fines; vindicatam denique et omni ex parte munitam humani generis felicitatem.

At libera disquisitio favet iis, qui quæta movere volunt, et rebus novis student. Esto. Unde, obsecro, clamor iste res novas deprecantium? Excitari nempe solet et disseminari ab iis, qui id vel in primis metuunt, ne in potestatem suam iniquam, et opes malè partas, calamitas aliqua ex improvise ingruat, ne in curriculo illo deliciarum diutiùs spatiari sibi non liceat, ne, quæ fraudulentè, quæ arroganter, quæ immaniter ipsi fecerint, eorum debitas ad poenas tandem aliquandò reposcantur. Sunt tamen, neque inficias iverim,

probi

probi aliqui cives, quibus plurimum timoris ipsum illud novitatis nomen incutit, quique igitur ex æquâ libertate malorum *ἡλιόδα* vaticinantur. Horum ego errores, cum a superbiâ et scelere longè absint, fidemque novitati difficulter habitam, haud temerè improbaverim. Nam difficilior fides malum levius: Credulitatis nimiae sæpius pœnas damus. Sed placet utique iis, omnem semper mutationem plenam periculi esse. Quid? An serviili in libertatem, miseriarum in felicitatem, periculosa immutatio? An putredine et morbo vitam et valetudinem permutare periculosum est? Quicquid apud homines excultius aut perfectius est, id omne, nî vehementissimè fallor, a multis multarum rerum immutationibus suum vel ortum duxit, vel incrementum. Ipsa illa experientia quid tandem est, nisi multæ multos per annos sensim et gradatim factæ mutationes? Sapientia porrò, annon in eo maximè versatur, ut variæ rerum humanarum formæ variæque conditiones unde profluxerint, quid efficiant, quo sint modo aut connexæ inter se, aut a se divisæ divulsæque, exquirat atque exponat? Ad ipsam postremò naturam convertas te oro, et paulò diligentius perscruteris, “rerum illa concordia discors” unde oriatur, et quid velit? Nempe, salubribus illis immutationibus natura gaudet, quæ fatiscentem se reficiant,

reficiant, languidulam foveant. Quid igitur, quid, inquam, illud est, quod probos hosce homines, sed cæcos et meticulosos, tot tantisque terriculis commovet? Huc profectò redit; ne in rebus, quæ ad felicitatem suam apprimè conducant, multùm homines proficiant, ne ad illud, quod in suo genere optimum sit, amplectendum sui sint potentes, ne in melioribus sequendis perinde ac probandis constantes sibi.

Patriam quidem meam etsi non alius quivis amore et pietate fidiùs, quàm ipse soleo, tueri potest, eâ tamen cæcitate non sum, ut omnes eam prudentiæ civilis flores decerpisse, omnia omnium civitatum commoda unam in se continere, autumem. Mihi certè nunquam non laudanda est, eò quòd aliquâ ex parte potentiam et libertatem, res olim dissociabiles, leni quodam consortio inter se vinxerit, cæterisque nationibus ad beatè liberèque vivendum quodammodò facem præluxerit. Quòd si ulteriora ei virtutis incrementa, ut magna pars solet, ego inviderem, laus ista mea in suspicionem meritò incideret. Ita quippe, ut esset vitalis, metuendum foret. Has enim vices habet rerum mortalium conditio, ut nihil in eo, quo statu nunc est, diu maneat. Quod autem progredi non potest, retrò id necesse est feratur. Me igitur nec pravus unquam pudor,

pudor, neque improba civium meorum reverentia, vetat, quò minùs recens aliud Gallorum institutum plenâ manu collaudem, deinde ad nâvos quosdam, qui rempublicam hancce jam diu deformant, digitos meos intendam.

Ad *Senatum Revisionis*, verbo absit invidia, me primùm convertò. Inventum sanè illud repræsentationem tantò in melius provexit, quantò simplicem δημοκρατίαν ipsa repræsentatio*. Ex philosophorum enim officinis haustum illud principium ad rerum rationem se accommodat, et naturæ moribusque hominum eximiè convenit. Siquidem tempus omnia vastat, et pulcherrima artis monumenta, nisi identidem instaurentur, dejicit; siquidem, quod huic seculo maximè conveniat, in

* Repræsentatio sanè antiquam δημοκρατίαν mirum in modum immutavit et quidem auxit. Nihilominùs, quæ contra δημοκρατίαν falsò et ineptè nunc temporis jaçantur convicia, ejusdem sunt farinæ cum dictæis, quæ olim Athenis erant audita. ὡς ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐστὶν ὄχλος, ἀναθιμνότερος πρῶτον τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ ἀσυνετώτατος, ὅσπερ ἐν θαλάττῃ κύμα ἀκατάγατος, ὡς αἱ τύχοι, κινούμενον—ὁ μὲν ἡλθις, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθε· μέλει δ' ἑδραῖον τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλ' ἐδὲ μίμνηται. Sed quem tandem auctorem verba hæc præ se ferunt? Æschinem, medius fidius, nefarium hominem et infamem, amore servitutis deperientem, bonorum omnium conductitium calumniatorem, proditorum patriæ, et denique jam tum, cùm in populum invehetur, mercedulæ causâ turpissimè φιλοτιμίζοντα.

posterum sæpe fit pessimum, prout civium virtutes atque opes nunc augescant, nunc minuantur; Galliae est illud sapientissimè provisum, ut, si integris duobus senatibus aliquid in imperio videretur immutandum, tunc proximo senatui sexto quoque anno paucis quibusdam præter solitum ascriptis immutatio ista mandaretur. Hoc modo inter principia, uti aiunt, politica et errores factum discrimen est, nullaque vi, nullo strepitu, nullo ipsius reipublicae detrimento, devia politia in rectum tramitem denuò revocatur. Quantò est hoc sapientiùs a Gallis institutum, quàm statui solet ab iis, qui, omnigenae antiquitatis amore perditè accensi, majores nostros non modò nobis ipsis prudentiores prædicant; id enim ferendum esset; sed eosdem, quid e re sit nostrâ, rectiùs ab augurio didicisse, quàm nosmet ab experienciâ, contendunt. Profectò, non satis demirari possum hanc vel superbiam veteratoris cujusdam, vel vesaniam, quæ vetustati tale pretium indixit.

Omnia ferè imperia è casu potiùs quàm sapientiâ sunt exorta. Gentes, quæ politiam sibi perfectam præstituto quodam tempore efformârint, perraras accepimus. “Periculosæ igitur plenum “opus aleæ is tractat,” qui, cujusmodi sit, et quonam habitura fructus, reipublicæ forma absoluta, dicere ausit. Etenim, aut populus aliquis priscis è sedibus migraverit, inque novam civitatem antiqui

liqui sui imperii vitia mendasque trajecerit; aut pauci sapientes ausi fuerint pannosæ cujusdam rei-publicæ fatiscentes rimas resarcire. Hi autem, uti Solon, leges tulerunt, non quæ præstantissimæ essent, sed quas populus corruptelis jam olim assuefactus ferre posset, non quæ bonis civibus optandæ essent, sed quales improborum vitia paterentur. Nunc partium furori, nunc præjudicatis suorum opinionibus, aliquid concessere; quæ cum ita essent, navis reipublicæ contrariis fluctibus agitata, fieri non potuit, quin lucuoso naufragio tandem periret. Ubi cumque enim laxabuntur compages, "accipiet inimicum imbrem."

Me quidem profectò patriæ meæ idcirco miserescit, quòd unâ præsertim in parte diu sit ægra, et propè deposita. Nec jure mihi quivis succenseat, si medicas ei manus admoveri velim, priusquàm morbo in dies ingravescenti succubuerit, sitque posita extra spem omnem instaurandæ valetudinis. Præcipuè autem ea labascit vitio mendosæ repræsentationis: quod sanè vitium triplici modo fit, atque ad tres potissimùm causas referri debet; partim ad ipsam publicarum rerum constitutionem, partim ad eorum, quæ constituta sunt, abusum, partim ad gravissimum illud vulnus, quod est senatui haud ita pridem ab ipsis senatoribus illatum. Per ipsam publicarum re-

tum constitutionem in eo peccatum est, quod pars longè longèque maxima populi ipsius a legatis in senatum mittendis jure prohibetur. Quod attinet ad abusum eorum, quæ constituta sunt, notissimum est illud, cum plebem in senatoribus eligendis, tum senatores in ferendis suffragiis, pretio fidem addictam habere, atque adeò pedibus ire in sententiam quamque vel fœdissimam potentiorum. Vulnus autem illud, de quo dixi, in ipsis visceribus libertatis altissimè insedit, ex quo ii, qui ad populum regendum suffragiis popularibus legati sunt, potestatem sibi diuturniorem, neque jubente populo, neque probante, sibi ipsi suo, si Diis placet, jure, suos in usus, suam, penè dixerim, infensam in tyrannidem, vindicare non erubuerunt.

Ex repræsentatione minùs æquâ hoc mali in primis sequitur, sententias totius populi perperam intelligi; ut ne illud quidem prosit, velle legatos pro officio suo legantibus commodas aures præbere, cum nequeant ex paucis discere, quid intersit universorum. Aliud enim populus est, aliud suffragantes. Quis, rogo, risum teneat, nisi res eadem et fletu digna sit, cum, quæ in urbe ne ruinas quidem veterum ædium, neque incolas, nisi pastorem unum vel alterum, videres, urbis illius penè umbra et nomen in supremum concilium

tot legatos mittit, quot magna quævis regio et populo et opibus abundans? E. cæteris, quæ posui, representationis vitiis, quæ et quanta in civitatem mala redundârint, nec satis dicere possum, nec conqueri. Nam, ut omittam, quibus artibus, quâ vi, potestas legatorum, quæ in tres annos permissa esset, per septem retenta sit, efficit ipsum tempus, per quod senatores iidem eandem dignitatem tenent, ut sensim obruatur populi libertas. Etenim senatores septennem jam nacti dominatum, et opinionum popularium propterea securi, augustiores quodammodò jam incedunt, neque dicto legantium ulteriùs audientes, de eo, quod sit e re suâ, potiùs quàm quid populo sit profuturum, solliciti sunt. Summum rerum iudicium simul atque consecuti sunt, "Vobis," inquit, "obsequii gloria relicta est." Sub exitum autem septimi cujusque anni, quicquid est arrogantia, vel spei vel timori dat locum. En senatores eodem illos derepentè factos demissos, moderatos, et plebeculæ vel infimæ perstudiosos*! Quæ cum ita sint, quantum ex annuis, ceu olim inter Saxones, vel ex biennibus senatibus lucrari possimus, liquidò patet.

Ex

* Intelligant, velim, hodierni isti senatores, qualem sibi inconstantia suæ, et perfidia, et animi ingrati, in ipso

Ex diuturnitate senatoriae potentiae facillimus in corruptelam aperitur aditus, qui quidem, si eadem potentia circumscriberetur spatiis angustioribus, penitus intercluderetur. In diuturnis verò illis senatibus discitur, quid sit, ducere et duci, corrumpere et corrumpi. Pervertuntur in illis juveniles animi, seniles obdurescunt. In illis, qui se plebicolam acrem et animosum nudius tertius jactavit, libertatem subito aut metuit, aut odit, et “cùm timendâ voce complevit nemus, Proiectum odoratur cibum.” Perstrepit in illis sceleratorum audacia, tacent boni dolentque. In illis senatores fœdifragi plebis injuriam lucrifaciunt. In illis fœdissima adulatio impune gliscit. In illis, si qui proceris alicujus gratiam ipso Agamemnone auctorem habeant. Sic enim fratrem suum superbientem et ferocientem Menelaus alloquitur :

Ὀλέθ' ἔτ' ἐνθάδε; ἄρχῃ Δαναΐδαι; πρὸς Διὸς,
 Τῷ δαίῳ μὲν ἔχθ' ἡχέον, τῷ δὲ βέλυσθαι θάνατον,
 ὧς ταπεινὸς ἦς, ἀπῶσθαι δεξιὰς προσδυσχεύων,
 Καὶ δίνας ἵχθῃ αὐλείῃς τῷ θύλατι δημοτῶν,
 Καὶ δίδδ' ἐρόσῃσι ἱεῖς πᾶσι, καὶ μὴ τις δίλοι,
 Τοῖς τρώεσσι ζῆτῶν πρίσθαι τὸ φιλότιμον ἐν μέσῳ;
 Κατ' ἐπὶ κούρῃσι ἀρχαί, μεταβαλὼν ἄλλας τρώων,
 Τοῖς φίλοισι ἐκ ἐπ' ἦσθα τοῖς πρὶν, ὧς ἐρόδῃ, φίλῳ,
 Αὐσπερίωντος, ἴσθ' τι κλέβῃ σπαρίῳ.

Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. 337.

assen-

assentatiunculis plausuque aucupari velint, iter suum ad opes et honores instituunt. In illis nascuntur clientelæ, quæ egenti cuique et factioso tantum auctoritatis addunt, et quarum ope veteratoria ista facundia præmiis audet amplissimis inhiare. Spatium verò illud senatoriæ dignitatis si minuas, fiet alia derepentè rerum facies. Non ampliùs dolo, non factione, non subitis et inverecundis sententiarum conversionibus, sed virtute, sed ingenio, sed consilio, ad honores muniatur via. Si iis, qui rerum politicarum iter quotidie suscipiunt, hoc manifestum pateret, honestis illis se artibus traderent, et suâ sponte probi tum demum fierent, cùm improbitas lucro esse non posset. Tali in senatu minimè necessarium foret, corruptam illam et funestam eloquentiam vel ad agendum vel ad resistendum muneribus oppugnare; sed longè minoris populo constaret imperium, ubi homines potiùs, qui implerent officia, quàm officia, quæ homines ornarent, quærentur.

Hæc sunt, quæ me studium meum et voluntas in cives meos meminisse coëgerunt. Is enim ego non sum, qui verum patriæ amorem inani vel subdolâ laude metiar. Sed quicumque id, quod honestè factum fuerit, liberè laudat, quod verò minùs honestè, liberè improbat, næ is boni viri
bonique

bonique civis officio fungitur. Alia profectò sunt vitia in imperio nostro, quæ, cùm occasio hæcce, ut ea singulatim recenseam, minùs postulet, aliis pertractanda relinquo. Illud tamen in transcurso notandum est, nullum posse tot tantorumque malorum expectari remedium, quamdiu perditissima ista mercenariorum senatorum caterva senatum Anglicanum inquinabit.

Jam verò, si a re theoreticâ ad practicam tandem eos provocemus, qui æquam libertatem infamatum eunt, vereor ne scrupulum iis Americani injiciant, "apud quos tam paucis legibus tam commodè res administrantur." Ibi in conjunctis, ut vocantur, rebuspublicis æquæ libertatis scientia ab unoquoque non tantùm mente intellecta, verùm et re percepta, esse videtur. In animis eorum inveteravit hæc opinio, omnes jure æquales esse, neque inæquales fieri posse. Imò incredibile, uti accepimus, iis est, posse aliquem, qui sanæ sit mentis, de hâc re aliter sentire. Inde fit, ut res multæ, quæ gentibus Europæis fabulosæ et portentorum instar visæ sint, ex honestâ illâ, quæ in animis Americanorum insederit, sententiâ perfacilè et expeditè profluant. In primis quidem eadem fere constantia est eademque tranquillitas in eligendis magistratibus, atque in domesticis institutis conservandis. Pauci
jam

jam anni præteriêrunt; ex quo tredecim hæ respublicæ non solum suum sibi quæque imperium, duasque porro, quas vocant, fœderatas constitutiones, effinxerunt; verum etiam tres earundem, Pennsylvania, Carolina Australis, et Georgia, suam sese regendi rationem de integro instituerunt. Hæc autem sine vi, sine doli, sine ullâ rerum perturbatione et inchoata et perfecta sunt. Plebeculæ enim ab oculis cum amoveantur præstigiatorum istorum publicorum acetabula calculique, nullus fit suspicioni locus, tumultus nullus est, nullæ sunt insidiæ. Cum nimius magisteriis quæstus non addatur, abest illa omnis invidia, quæ splendidissimos honores cum lucro conjunctos sequi solet. Eadem omnibus officiorum gerendorum potestas in medio posita est, rerum modò prudentes sint, probosque ob mores benè audiant. O præclara civitas! O bonis omnibus nunquam non laudanda! tui cum sis omni ex parte tam consimilis, et cæteris tantò præstantior! Tecum profectò optimè est actum, siquidem non vides operosos illos corruptelarum apparatus, non funestas nequitie ambages, non proditam auro salutem patriæ, non denique flagitiosissimas et execrandas suffragiorum nundinas.

Restat jam, ut ea, de quibus fusiùs et magis distinctè locuti sumus, summatim breviterque repetamus,

petamus. Illud cum esset manifestum, magnam
 haecenus imperium, si quidem unum Americanum
 exceperis, cum aequa libertate haecenus non con-
 stitisse, causas, cur non constiterit, in medium
 protulimus. Principium, à quo imperii natura
 et libertatis modus pendere videantur, diligenter
 et pro ingenii nostri modulo exposuimus. Im-
 perii porro omnis, cum illius, quod sit justum et
 legitimum, originem, tum illius, quod ad tyran-
 nidem sit inclinatum, perfugia et praesidia expli-
 cavimus. Leges quasdam assumpsimus, quibus
 tanè concessis, aequam fieri posse libertatem sta-
 tuimus, quae tamen si non concessae sint, mancam
 fore eam et imperfectam, contendimus. Impe-
 riorum, quae oculis nostris hodie obversantur,
 nonnullorum vitia attigimus, et causas, quae in
 singulis eorum aequae libertati officiunt, ad examen
 paulò liberiùs revocavimus. Galliam autem, u-
 nam, meherculè, inter Europaeas gentes unicam-
 que libertatis aequae fautricem, non recusandum
 erat, quin plausu exciperemus, ejusque studiosos
 à maledicis mendacibusque convitiatoribus pro
 virili vindicaremus. Artes, quae imperium ama-
 bile reddant, jura hominum quae sint, et unde or-
 ta; principum populique commoda, si modò sa-
 pient principes, quomodo consentiant; quid ipsa
 libertas velit, firmamque ejusdem cum virtute

societatem; representationis, quâ solâ tegi et servari libertas possit, solidam et expressam effigiem; quare in vicinâ quâdam regione representatio illa aliquantò auctior et provectior nobis visa sit; educationis publicæ, liberæque rationis, varias utilitates; quin et vitia nonnulla, quæ in corpore civitatis hujusce nostræ in dies ingravescant; hæc, inquam, omnia, quantum pro temporis et loci hujus ratione licuit, strictim tractavimus. Denique, disquisitione omni relicta, ad Americanos provocavimus, qui primi hominum obscuram antea incertamque de æquâ libertate theoriam solidâ experientiâ comprobârunt.

In hanc igitur cum mihi ipsi, tum etiam, uti spero, vobis, Academici, gratissimam conclusionem tandem aliquandò devenio, non solum posse magnum imperium cum æquâ libertate constare, verum etiam æquæ libertati adeò non moram adferre imperii magnitudinem, ut quò majus fuerit imperium, eò sit ista firmior et diuturnior futura libertas. Etenim, quamvis in parvâ civitate minus difficile est, quàm in magno imperio, libertatem stabilire, semel tamen eam stabilitam longè facilius est magno in imperio, quàm in parvâ civitate, retinere. Hoc cur fiat, in promptu est causa. Parva civitas libertati æquior fit, eò quòd justioribus lancibus libretur in eâ proprietas, quòd plenior

plenior civibus inter se sermonum communicati-
 dorum, plenior injuriarum, quas passi fuerint, de-
 plorandarum, plenior salutis quærendæ locus pa-
 tere solet. In rerum autem naturâ poni videtur,
 ut quod factu facile sit, id perrarò sit diuturnum.
 Quæ enim res parvâ in civitate libertati viam
 aperiunt, eadem fragilem et incertam reddunt.
 Contra ea, variæ magni imperii partes ut in fædus
 aliquod libertatis coëant, vetat sæpenumero cùm
 difficilior consiliorum communicatio, tum nimia
 inter se locorum longinquitas. Atqui hinc etiam
 vires ducit suas. Hinc adversum seditiones et
 clandestinam vim firmissimè munitum. Adde,
 quòd magno imperio id insitum est robur, ut
 ægrius opprimatur ab hoste exterò, minùsque igi-
 tur libertati illius sit periculum ex iis calamitati-
 bus, quæ te, miseranda Polonia, tuaque jura om-
 ninò omnia, vereor ne brevi infringant, penitùsque
 gravissimo interitu subvertant.

Enimverò, a teterrimis istis Russiæ et Borus-
 siæ tyrannis, istis versutis veteratoribus, istis, penè
 dixerim, efferis carnificibus, in æquam libertatem,
 in omne quicquid est jus gentium, in ipsum de-
 nique humanum genus, incredibili atque immam
 more et modo sævitum est. Pavet interea, totâ-
 que mente ac totis artibus contremiscit ipsa Polo-
 nia. Obstupescunt, mistâ cum dolore et metu in-
 dignatione,

dignatione, gentes vicinæ. Quin Britannia, libertatis illa quondam violatæ, et quidem periclitantis ultrix et acerrima vindex, tyrannorum inter minas et strepitum horrendorum armorum silet torpetque.

Uno ab homine, præscriptum ab eo, qui juvenis sit, vix, ac ne vix quidem, sperandum foret, ut omnia, quæ de re nobis proposita dici possint, copiosè et enucleatè dicantur. Digna tamen est ipsa, si per se spectatur, quæstio, in quâ vires suas quisquè intendat, qui sit vel ad excogitandum acutus, vel ad explicandum ornandumque uberri-
mus. Habet quippe hanc suam sibi materiem, felicitatem hominum, quæ industriam nostram, quæ ingenium, quæ vitæ ipsius quantum sit cunctæque spatium, nescio annon sibi soli vindicet. Quotiam tamen non desunt, qui dicunt, nihil cum rebus politicis privato culpam negotii esse, ostendunt mihi, quæso, isti blaterones, quinam de istiusmodi rebus dignè, id est, liberè, abundanter, et subtiliter, conscripserint? Annon privati erant et Plato, et Aristoteles, et Livius, et Machiavellus? Inter nostrates, Harringtonus, Miltonus, Lockius, annon hi etiam privati? Privati sanè omnes. Vita autem inter fluctus rerum politicarum et tempestates semper acta, rarissimè est vel ingenio vel virtutibus fecunda. Inter studia cupiditatesque

piditatesque honorum atque ambitiones tempus suum omne conterunt principum satellites et administrari. Quod more fit majorum, quod legibus etiam iniquis institutum est, quod principibus arrire solet, in eo vel tuendo, vel contegendo, vel subdole et versute collaudando, maxime versantur. Quod autem vel meliores fiant cives sui, vel feliciores, vel libertatis magis scientes atque appetentes, id omne viris aulicis aut nihili esse solet, aut etiam odio et formidini.

Quod si huic quaestioni satisfacere quis velit, omnes cum omnium imperiorum formas perscrutari oportet, quod unum sub aspectum cadere faciat earundem et errores, et virtutes, et varietates; quod de legibus, quae variis locis convenient, variisque populis arrideant, ipse certior fiat; quod denique his omnibus iterum iterumque per omnes partes et numeros perspectis, modum sciat ejus libertatis, quae in singulis imperiis non tantum extiterit, verum etiam extare possit. Libertas enim, uti monet Aristoteles, vix magis cum hominibus quam cum locis consortium habet: hinc scilicet propter caeli solique dissimilitudines, unde variae proficiunt vitium opportunitates; illinc propter diversitates ingeniorum et institutorum, propter varios morum habitus, atque varios rerum usus. Idem ille centum et octo respublicas recenset, quarum

quarum naturas cum accuratissime perpendisset, quot populos, tot populorum regundorum formas agnoscit. In singulis igitur hisce civitatibus, si tres * exceperis, cum tanta inesset juris quasi innata dissimilitudo, multiplex et penè infinitus foret illius labor, qui thesauros in hoc argumento altè repòstos promere et explicare in se susciperet. Quisquis etiam se huic operi accinxerit, omnibus eum naturæ doctrinæque præidiis instructum et ornatum esse oportet. Verùm nos, tanto ut impares negotio, piget tamen necessitatis illius, quæ coëgerit orationem hancce tantis angustiis coarctare, et quæstionis tam splendidae tamque eximiae, velut immensi cujusdam maris, extremam tantummodò oram legere. Pauca de Hispanis volui, deque Sinenibus, plura de Turcis dicere; nonnulla etiam de Venetorum, de Asiaticorum, de Ægyptiorum, imperiis. Tacendum porrò esse de Italiae coloniis, de Amphictyonum concilio, deque Hepharchiâ illâ nostrâ, permolestè fero. Equidem aliter factum vellem; mei si fortè humeri tantum oneris sustinere non recusassent. Neque tamen negaverim, in hac saltem parte vobiscum, Academici, esse melius actum, siquidem vobis audientibus citius patientia, quàm mihi de tot tantisque rebus

* Cretensem, Laconicam, Carthaginiensem.

disputanti vox et oratio esset defutura. Quòd autem aures mihi attentas tamdiu non gravati estis præbere, de eo, est, cur seriò triumphem, quoniam solitos, ut ita dicam, cancellos oratio est nostra longè prætervecta, et me clepsydra aqua dicentem jam olim defecit.

Orationi autem huc, qualiscunque sit, prius, quàm coronidem imponam, in re, quam antea leviter perstrinxi, paulò diutius mihi nunc demum liceat immorari. Vanum et planè inutilem esse fateor de rebus politicis sermonem, qui fundamenta sua jecerit in subitâ et inauditâ quâdam humanarum et consuetudinum et opinionum conversatione: atque idem ego confirmo, a ratione non alienum esse, quàm politicæ rei cum re morali conjunctionem expectare, ut politiam, prout omnibus suis numeris magis absoluta sit, virtus æquis partibus comitari videatur. Si imperium uspiam terrarum instituatur, in quo æqua libertas floreat, pacem id, necesse est, in deliciis sit habiturum. "Pax" enim "est tranquilla libertas." Illud autem æquæ libertati maximè in laudem cesserit, quòd sine pace non modò non vigere, sed ne esse quidem diu, possit.

Ardet mihi exultatque animus prospectanti diem, in quo redibunt felicia illa secula verèque aurea, cùm scdum et exitiosum bellum ex terris penitus

penitus exulabit, Janique fores in omne ævum
 immotis objicibus ocludentur; cùm sentient tan-
 dem homines, quàm caduca et prorsus fœda res
 sit ex internecione civium petita gloria, quàm ca-
 lamitosa et planè nefaria ars sit ista, quàm mors
 quæritur, quàm inhumanum et plusquam bellui-
 num videatur, ab homine id fieri, quod facere
 solent ne belluæ quidem, “ nunquam, nisi in dis-
 par, feta.”

Tunc genus humanum positis sibi consulat armis,

Inque vicem gens omnis amet.

Adsit profectò, et, me vivo, adsit tempus, cùm
 obsolescet “ gratia regum sanguineis tentata mo-
 dis,” et alter nos alteri obviàm ibimus, non hosti
 hostis, non servo dominus, sed civi civis, sed ho-
 mini homo. Pax, immortalis et universa pax, per
 urbes regnabit. Hoc in republicâ suâ constitu-
 endâ velle se profitetur Gallia. Hoc, quæ ratio-
 nem et virtutis amorem homini dedit, ratum vo-
 luit Natura. Manibus tum demum, non modò
 tot exercituum, verùm etiam populorum univer-
 sorum bello interfectorum, serâ posterorum ami-
 citiâ gratissimè litabitur.

Videre equidem videor, pacatis ubique rebus,
 concordiam et vitæ prosperitatem arctissimo in-
 ter se vinculo conjunctas; amotum, in quantum à
 mortalibus

mortalibus amoveri queat, quicquid est egestatis, et de victu ac lare familiari solitudinis; agros benè cultos, et ubertate frugum lætissimos; munitiis suis nitentes etiam rusticorum villulas; civium denique omnium vultus erectos, et animi sensus jucundiores præ hilaritate suâ et suavitate indicantes. Videre videor, pravo omni affectu deturbatò, rationem in res humanas dominari. — Erit aliquandò, nî vanus auguror, erit ille dies, in quo veritas, in tenebras jamdiu retrusa atque abdita, se in conspectu hominum collocabit, vitæ magistram et ducem pulcherrimam. Quæ, ut alios sui memores facerent, sapientes viri et ingeniosi meditando extuderunt, non amplius recludentur in scholarum cantilenis, non in hac domesticâ Academicorum et umbratili exercitatione, non in spinosis et exilibus philosophorum orationibus. Quicquid ad politicæ artis scientiam, adque ad eò ad communem hominum felicitatem, apprimè pertinet, id omne in adspectum et lucem proferetur. Quæ in facie Romuli fiunt, et facta nescio quomodo collaudantur, in desuetudinem abibunt, neque ulla priscae fraudis vestigia post se relinquent. In oculis erunt posita, et quasi manibus nostris jactata, quæ contemplari jam solent homines et admirari non nisi in

fictâ

ficta et commentitia Platonis republicâ; regnabunt
utique philosophi, vel philosophabuntur reges*.

Talia sæcla, suis dixerunt, currite, fusis

Concordes stabili fatorum numine Parce.

• • • • •

Adspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,

Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum,

Adspice, venturo lætentur ut omnia sæclo!

At verò hæc non nisi à Deo probè scio posse
proficisci, et mortalia omnia, cùm illa, quibus re-
verà fruimur, tum quæ procul et quasi per tran-
sennam cernimus, tenui a filo pendere. Inso-
niorum instar, evanescere solent pulcherrimæ spes;
nec opinata in dies contingunt: et homini neque
in secundis rebus, neque in adversis, datur provi-
dere, quid sit ultimum. Fieri idcirco potest, ut

* Ὁ μὴ ἐν Πλάτωνα φησὶ, τότε ταῖς θρόνους καλῶς ἔχει, ὅταν ὁ εἰς
φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσῃ, ἢ οἱ βασιλεῖς φιλοσοφῶσιν.

Polyb. Megal. Hist. Lib. 12.

Καὶ ταῦτα προερόμενοι ἡμῖς τότε καὶ δοθέντες, ἡμεῖς διόχομεν ἐπὶ
τάλῃδους ἡγεγεσμένοι, ὅτι ὅτι πάλαι, ὅτι πολυταῖα, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπὸς ἡμῶν
μήποτε γίνεσθαι τίνας, πρὶν ἢ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις τοῖς τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ
ὁ ποιητῆς, ἀλλήλους δὲ οὐκ ἀποκρίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τις ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ
αὐτοῖς βλάπτεται, αὐτοὶ μὲν, πάλαι ἐπιμαρτυροῦνται, καὶ τῇ πόλει κατὰ
γίνεσθαι ἢ τῶν οὐκ ἐν δυνάμει ἢ βασιλείας ἔχοντι δυνάμει, ἢ αὐτοῖς
ἐκ τῆς δυνάμει ἐπιμαρτυροῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀποκρίνεται, ἔχει ἡμῶν
Plat. Polit. 1.

frustrâ

frustrâ sint preces illæ meæ, quas pro æquâ gēti-
tium omnium libertate et nunc et aliàs sincero ad
pio animo effudi. Fieri, inquam, potest: nequē
enim me præterit, quot cum vitiiis, quam impor-
tunâ et robustâ cum improbitate, prius confli-
gendum sit. Quod si ita res tandem evenierit,
non tamen benevolentia suæ eos pœnitebit, quos
de generis humani felicitate sollicitos divinatio sua
et ardor nimius fefellerint. Erit nimirum iis so-
latio, ad eam (quâ par est) æqualitatem in terris
promovendam incubuisse, quam pauperes inter
divitesque, nullus dubito, in celesti illa anima-
rum scde * esse aliquandò intercessuram.

Huc post emeritam mortalia seculâ vitam

Deveniunt, ubi nulla manent discrimina fati,

Nullus honos, vanoque exutum nomine regem

Proturbat plebeius egens.

27 JU 50 Claud. in Ruf. 1. 473.

